The Washington Monthly

■ Bob Schieffer on why we let TV fool us

■ Taming the paper tiger: Why insurance forms could scuttle Clinton's health care overhaul

■ Is Clinton an Elvis or a Yuppie? *Also:* Jeffrey Birnbaum and Tom Hayden

APRIL 1993/$3.50

IS THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT ALL WRONG?

Extremists grab the headlines, but America's evangelicals have a message we all need to hear.

By Jon Meacham

04
0 74470 65748 4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Be Religious Without Losing Your Mind

Among the well-educated the myth still circulates that religion is the preserve of the dim-witted, unlettered, and irrational, that the price of salvation is checking your mind at the Pearly Gates. Yet, from Harvard to Berkeley, and among inquisitive people generally, there's an undeniable renewal of interest in the questions traditional religion raises and seeks to answer. This fascination is largely the result of the failure of secular substitutes for religion (such as positivism, rationalism, hedonism, consumerism, technological utopianism, Freudianism, and Marxism) to give abidingly satisfying answers to the truly significant puzzles in life: evil, goodness, suffering, love, death, and the meaning of it all.

Contrary to stereotypes, this religious renaissance does not imply a retreat from working for peace, justice, and human dignity; nor does it signify a hostility to science, only an appreciation of the limits of science and technology.

We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW are spearheading today's intellectual engagement with the sacred. Among other things, we scrutinize the religious dimensions of the great events and issues of the past and present, and probe the wisdom offered not only by the Bible and Church fathers, but also by such giants as St. Francis, Aquinas, Dante, Kierkegaard, Newman, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Bonhoeffer, Barth, Niebuhr, Gandhi, Buber, Auden, Eliot, Silone, Maritain, Merton, Schumacher, Thomas More, Dorothy Day, C.S. Lewis, Martin Luther King, Flannery O'Connor, Mother Teresa, and Archbishops Romero and Tutu.

An ecumenical monthly edited by lay Catholics, we've been characterized by George Will as "splendid," by the University of Chicago's Martin E. Marty as "lively," by the *Los Angeles Times* as "influential," by *Newsweek* as "thoughtful and often cheeky," by *Utne Reader* as "surprisingly original," by *Library Journal* as "brilliant," and by Christopher Derrick, England's foremost Catholic apologist, as "by far the best Catholic magazine in the English-speaking world."

We publish Protestants, Catholics, Anglicans, Eastern Orthodox, Jews, and an occasional nonbeliever. Writers who've appeared in our pages include such diversely penetrating intellects as Robert Bellah, Christopher Lasch, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Daniel Bell, Robert Coles, Irving Howe, Walker Percy, Norman Lear, John Lukacs, J.M. Cameron, Henri Nouwen, Avery Dulles, Gordon Zahn, Will Campbell, Stanley Hauerwas, Richard Mouw, and Sheldon Vanauken. We bat around a wide variety of issues and defy easy ideological pigeonholing. We'll keep you on your toes!

Whether or not you're Catholic, if you yearn for a sane, intelligent, and nonglitzy exploration of the religious dimensions of our lives and our world, we invite you to get to know us.

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription. . . . . .$14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription . . . . . .$12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription . . . . .$23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year Canadian or foreign subscription . . . . US$17 (regularly $22) Payment must be drawn in US Dollars
- ☐ Sample copy. $3.50

Send coupon or letter. Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP CODE

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 299
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94706

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Washington Monthly

Volume Twenty-Five, Number Four April 1993

Tilting at Windmills
by Charles Peters
What McNamara got right . . . What the *Post* got wrong . . . What OMB still doesn't know . . . and other odds and ends 5

Bad Forms
by Christopher Georges
Filling out all those health insurance forms isn't just a pain, but a multi-billion dollar waste. 10

Money for Nothing
by Art Levine
The fortune I didn't make in TV's get-rich-quick seminars. 14

Married with Alibi
by Karen Lehrman
Zoë Baird, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Geraldine Ferraro, and the politics of husband-blaming. 21

Service Charge
by Tom Hayden
If Clinton wants to make national service work, he's got to think big and cheap. 23

Righting Sentences
by Stephanie Mencimer
Jean Harris isn't the only prisoner we could safely let out of jail. 26

Brother, Can You Spare My BMW?
by David Segal
If Clinton is really an Elvis, why is he giving the yuppies so many breaks? 30

Out of House, Out of Mind
by Nancy Watzman
Fancy chocolates and other goodies taxpayers purchased by contracting with the private sector. 35

The Sleaze in the Statehouses
by Scott Greenberger
The really toothless lobby laws aren't in Washington; they're in the state legislatures. 39

What the Religious Right Can Teach the New Democrats
by Jon Meacham
Extremists grab the headlines, but America's evangelicals have a message we all need to hear. 42

ON POLITICAL BOOKS:

All About Bob
by John Ralston Saul
Why Robert McNamara shares the blame for just about everything. 50

Photo Negatives
by Bob Schieffer
There's a simple reason why TV campaigns are obsessed with photo-ops: People love them. 54

Political Booknotes
Review by **Jeffrey H. Birnbaum** 58

LETTERS 2
MONTHLY JOURNALISM AWARD 19
MEMO OF THE MONTH 38
WHO'S WHO 34
TIDBITS AND OUTRAGES 49
POLITICAL PUZZLE 52

Cover photograph by Claudio Vasquec, design by Kelly Doe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Social Menckenism

In your January/February 1993 issue, Tom Wicker—like so many liberals before him—rhapsodizes bizarrely about that "brilliant writer . . . consoling friend, ardent defender . . . perceptive editor [and] shrewd observer" H. L. Mencken, and his detestation of "moral indignation," "the sentimental," "the maudlin," "the whole sham of democracy," the "tendency to color all values with concepts of rightness and wrongness," and the "inability to throw off the Puritan obsession with sin." Beg pardon? As Mencken stated constantly and loudly throughout his lifetime, he hated such things because he was an enthusiastic Nietzschean and social Darwinist and thus hated all Judeo-Christian morality. That fact explains his deadly hatred of the New Deal, his enthusiasm for the Second Reich, and his failure to see anything seriously wrong with the Third. Those interested in the real Mencken can begin by reading his books on Nietzsche and democracy, and the pieces on him by Benjamin Demott in the May 1978 *Atlantic,* James Wolcott in the September 1980 *Esquire,* Garry Wills in the February 19, 1990 *New Republic,* and Nicholas Lemann in none other than the May 1990 *Washington Monthly.* Meanwhile, liberals and moderates will presumably continue heaping praise on a literally murderous, psychopathic snob simply because he was anti-religious and opposed sexual censorship.

BRUCE MOOMAW
Cameron Park, California

The editors reply:

H. L. Mencken was a many-sided man. Tom Wicker pointed out the positive. Nicholas Lemann recognized the negative in "Snob Rule" in our May 1990 issue.

Pennies from heaven

I am appalled to see the *Monthly* continues to promote discrimination in the form of taxing religious organizations, while other nonprofits ranging from the ACLU to the Red Cross to the University of Southern California would remain tax-exempt. This turns the First Amendment freedoms of religion and speech on their heads, creating a class of speech (religious speech) that is discriminated against. While I doubt that the courts, despite their current hostility to many forms of religion and religious activities, would allow such laws to take effect, you should be ashamed for continuing to advocate them.

KEVIN SMITH
Stamford, Connecticut

The editors reply:

We oppose—and we believe the Constitution opposes as well—singling out religion for help or harm. A tax exemption for religion alone violates the First Amendment. On the other hand, a tax exemption for charitable activity that may include part of what a church does would be legitimate. Thus, religious organizations, to the extent that they offer basement nurseries or free lunch programs as charitable functions, could legitimately be exempt from taxation, but to the extent that they perform exclusively religious functions should not be exempt from taxes applied to the rest of us.

Mob cruel

The most tragic misperception concerning Mafia efforts to help JFK in the 1960 election is not about the extent of their success, which Charles Peters questions in "Tilting at Windmills" [January/February], but about their implications concerning Kennedy's integrity. Stories of Joseph Kennedy's solicitation of Mob help for his son's election and of JFK's own affair with Giancana mistress Judith Campbell leave the unfortunate impression of laxity by President Kennedy toward organized crime. In fact, brothers John and Robert Kennedy conducted a crushing crusade against the Mob, quadrupling the prior rate of racketeering convictions. Venomous diatribes and assassination plots by underworld figures against them, monitored in 1962 and 1963, attest to the efficacy of this crusade.

Following Kennedy's death, under a succession of spineless or corrupt presidents, with the exceptions of Jimmy Carter and the untested Bill Clinton, the Mob once again prospered. I don't believe that national tolerance for this menace is unrelated to the proliferation of guns, drugs, and failed S&Ls that have plagued our society in the assassination's aftermath. President Kennedy's memory and his nobler national vision compel us to recognize the courage and importance of his vigilant efforts to combat organized crime.

DAVID S. SCHEIM
Silver Spring, Maryland

Publish and perish

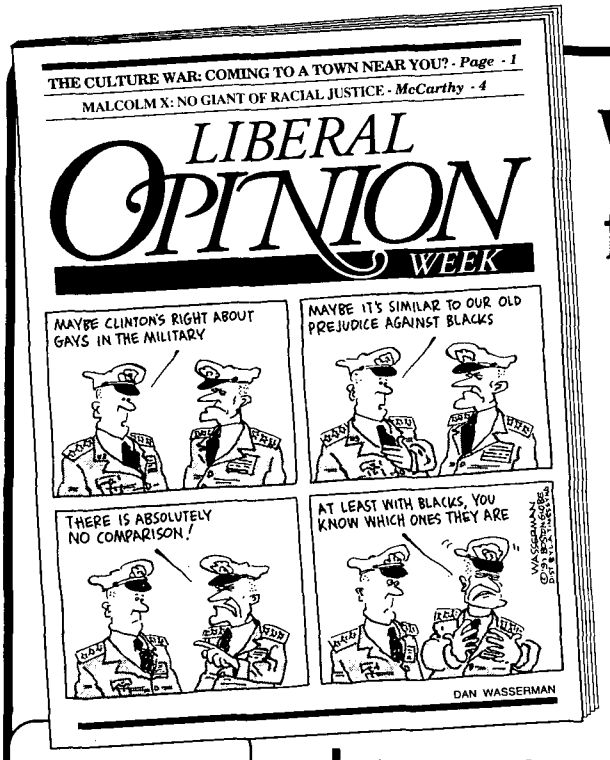
While I was dismayed to read Michael Fumento's article in the December 1992 issue ["Technical Foul"], I'm appalled at the treatment he has received for his work ["Beat the Press," Leslie Kaufman, March]. It's outrageous that people don't seem to want to hear anything other than the usual cant. It's deadly, too.

ANDREW P. STUART
Madison, Wisconsin

Topic sentence

I fully agree that sentencing "Bob" to 20 or 30 years is a miscarriage of justice and a disgrace ["Lemon Laws," David Segal, January/February]. However, the judges can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Will It Be as Good for You as It Was for Him?

Watch Clinton perform on sex issues.

Follow the debate on:

- gays in the military • abortion counseling
- removing HIV infection as a bar to immigration
- fetal tissue transplants
- lifting the RU-486 ban • AIDS research

Only ONE publication can give you this many liberal columnists and cartoonists every week–52 weeks a year!

FEATURED COLUMNISTS

EVERY COLUMN, EVERY WORD

Mary McGrory, Richard Cohen
Jesse Jackson, Calvin Trillin
David Broder, Coretta Scott King
Ralph Nader, Ellen Goodman
Linda Ellerbee, Mark Russell
David Nyhan, Michael Kinsley
Neal Peirce, Lars-Erik Nelson
Art Buchwald, Russell Baker
Nat Hentoff, Clarence Page
Dave Barry, Anna Quindlen
Cynthia Tucker

CONTRIBUTING COLUMNISTS

SELECTED COLUMNS WEEKLY, IN FULL

Molly Ivins, Les Payne
Andy Rooney, James Hoagland
Colman McCarthy, Robert Reno
Anthony Lewis, Mike Royko
Christopher Matthews
Carl Rowan, Germond & Witcover
Murray Kempton, William Raspberry
William Schneider, Hobart Rowen
William Pfaff, Jimmy Breslin
Jack Anderson & Michael Binstein

CONTRIBUTING CARTOONISTS

Jules Feiffer, 'Herblock'
Duane Powell, Mark Stamaty
Tom Toles, Dan Wasserman
Jeff Danziger, Steve Sack
Paul Conrad, Mike Lane
Bill Schorr, Rob Rogers
Doug Marlette, Jim Borgman
Mike Luckovich, Mike Peters
Taylor Jones

Look to ***Liberal Opinion Week*** to bring you nearly all of America's most influential liberal columnists—the pundits who will play a major role in shaping the course of the new national agenda.

In a single publication, you can follow every column, every word, of such perceptive writers as Mary McGrory, David Nyhan, David Broder, Lars-Erik Nelson, Linda Ellerbee, Michael Kinsley, Richard Cohen and Ellen Goodman.

You can also enjoy a look at the lighter side with such humorists as Dave Barry, Art Buchwald, Mark Russell, Mike Royko, Calvin Trillin and Russell Baker.

In all, ***Liberal Opinion Week*** brings you some 40 of America's finest syndicated newspaper columnists. You won't want to miss their observations and assessments.

Plus, from the drawing board you will find our lineup of editorial cartoonists including Jules Feiffer, Mark Stamaty, Tom Toles, Dan Wasserman, Jim Borgman, Mike Luckovich, 'Herblock,' Mike Peters, Paul Conrad and a host of others.

Stay informed with ***Liberal Opinion Week,*** a 32-page tabloid with no advertising.

If you are not completely satisfied, we will return a full refund on all unmailed copies at any time, for any reason.

Introductory Offer – 13 Weekly Issues for $9.75

TO ORDER, RETURN COUPON OR CALL **1-800-338-9335**

Not available on newsstands.

LIBERAL OPINION WEEK

P.O. BOX 468 VINTON, IA 52349

☐ YES: Send a 13-week introductory subscription for $9.75
☐ Send a 1-year subscription (52 weekly issues) for $39.00

Name _____
Address _____
_____ Apt. _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

☐ Check enclosed
☐ Bill me ☐ VISA ☐ MC
Card # _____
Exp. _____

(Foreign postage add $25.00, $6.50 for 13-week offer.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blame only themselves. If liberal judges, starting with the Warren Court, hadn't meted out wrist-slaps for serious crimes, mandatory minimum sentences wouldn't be necessary. Whenever the pendulum swings to one extreme, it invariably swings to the other before it stops somewhere in the center.

ERWIN FUCHS
Seattle, Washington

The editors reply: Please see "Righting Sentences," page 26.

Peters principle?

For several years, I have followed your publication's attacks on the cigarette industry, government waste, and inside-the-beltway gridlock with interest, and usually with approval. Enough so that *How Washington Really Works* [Charles Peters, January/February] has become a required text in our political science courses.

Allow me to suggest another crusade that may interest your editorial board: How about an article excoriating author/publishers who are brazen enough to flag their book on the cover of their magazine, and even include in the magazine's pages a full page advertisement for their book? The conflict of interest seems clear.

This seems to be a windmill worth tilting at.

JOHN ROBERT GREENE
Cazevonia, New York
Mr. Greene is an associate professor of history and communication at Cazevonia College.

The editors reply:

We believe in blatant conflicts of interest. In other words, where the conflict is exposed for the world to see—as when the author's byline clearly states that he is also the editor-in-chief of the magazine—readers can decide for themselves whether the book excerpt has enough merit to justify running. The openness, of course, also allows them to decide whether there is, on the other hand, enough of a conflict or outrageous self-promotion to, say, lead them to cancel their subscriptions. The point is that they are aware of the conflict. Unfortunately, in Washington, most such conflicts remain unknown and undisclosed. Conflicts in and of themselves are not automatically bad. As Michael Kinsley once asked in these pages, "Is it a conflict of interest for a mother to have a second child?"

Medal mettle

In your eagerness to slam the National Magazine Awards (NMA) ["Heavy Medals," David Segal, March] you set up a straw man: that the awards should *only* be in recognition of "serious, hard-hitting, news oriented" journalism. The NMAs do have a Reporting category. (Recent winners include *The New Republic* and *The New Yorker*, the latter three times.) But they also reward performance in such areas as Feature Writing, Personal Service, Public Interest, Fiction, Photography, and General Excellence (among others).

One can admire news magazines without feeling that there should be no other kind. There are other kinds, and some of them are better than others. *Glamour*, for one, has also been recognized by the American Medical Association, Women in Communications, the National Women's Political Caucus, the Newswomen's Club of New York, the New York Association of Black Journalists, and the Northwestern University School of Journalism; fiction published in *Glamour* has also been included in the O. Henry collection. Your writer suggests that, as chairman of the NMA committee in 1992, I "logrolled" *Glamour* into winning for General Excellence and Reporting. He is inaccurate on several counts: In 1992, *Glamour* won one prize, not two, and it was in Public Interest, not in either of the categories you mention. (The award was for a three-part series of articles on abortion.) Also worth noting is that *Glamour* won its first General Excellence award in 1981, a year in which Dick Stolley, then editor of *People*, was chairman. If editors of glossies had the power you say we do, believe me, I would've arranged to win more often.

RUTH WHITNEY
Ms. Whitney is editor in chief of Glamour Magazine

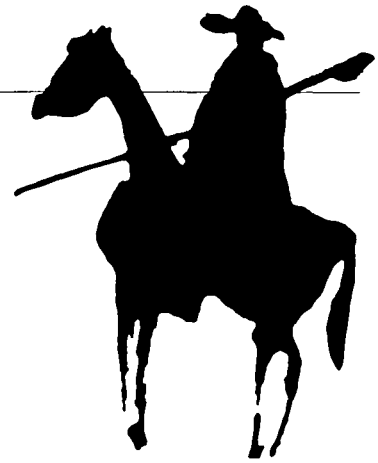
The Washington Monthly

Editor in Chief Charles Peters
Publisher Mary T. Beiro
Editors Christopher Georges, Jon Meacham, David Segal
Contributing Editors Jonathan Alter, Thomas N. Bethell, Tom Bethell, Taylor Branch, Matthew Cooper, Gregg Easterbrook, James Fallows, Paul Glastris, Mickey Kaus, Phil Keisling, Michael Kinsley, Nicholas Lemann, Suzannah Lessard, Arthur Levine, Timothy Noah, Joseph Nocera, Leonard Reed, John Rothchild, Jonathan Rowe, Walter Shapiro, Scott Shuger, Steven Waldman
Editorial Advisory Board Graham Allison, James David Barber, Edgar Cahn, David Halberstam, Murray Kempton, Richard Reeves, Hugh Sidey
Production Manager Sridhar Tallapragada
Advertising Director Jennifer L. Schindeler
Assistant to the Editor Pam Matthews
Interns Mike Bach, Marion Davis, Jennifer Elsea, Rebecca Evans, Ann O'Hanlon, David Smyth, John Zebrowski
Proofers Nancy Ayala, Carol Emert, John Kalajian, Jack Shellenberger, Nina Teicholz, Valerie Worthington

Subscription rates: U.S. and possessions: one year, $35; two years, $66; three years, $92. For Canadian and foreign subscriptions, add $7 for surface delivery; for air mail delivery add $32. Back issues, $4.50. Send correspondence concerning subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Box 587, Mount Morris IL, 61054. For change of address, please provide six weeks' notice and include old address label. *The Washington Monthly* is indexed in the Book Review Index, Political Science Abstracts, Public Affairs Information Service, the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, the Social Science Index, and Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory and may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Reprints of articles are available to individuals or schools at $1.50 each (prepaid). For reprint rights for all or part of an article call S. Tallapragada at (202) 462-0128. Published monthly except combined July/August and January/February issues by The Washington Monthly Company, 1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 462-0128. Printed in U.S.A.
© 1993 The Washington Monthly Co. All rights reserved. Reproduction by any method whatsoever without permission is prohibited. ISSN 0043-0633. Postmaster: Send change of address to *The Washington Monthly*, Box 587, Mount Morris IL, 61054. Second class postage paid at Mechanicsburg, PA. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TILTING AT WINDMILLS



I am heartened by the enthusiastic public response to President Clinton's State of the Union message. Of course, there are flaws in his plan—and this magazine will be busy pointing them out in coming months—but even with the defects, it is the fairest and most sensible economic program that has been offered to this country in a long time. The negativeness of the initial Republican response, totally devoid of constructive alternatives, was nothing less than shameful. . . .

Do you sometimes suspect that you are the only sane person in the asylum? A New Yorker could easily have fallen prey to that feeling when he picked up the paper and read that his fellow citizens were debating whether it was wise to limit medical residents to an 80-hour work week. How can any rational person think that a doctor who is working more hours than that can possibly perform at his peak or anywhere remotely near it? Or suppose you're a Virginian who read last month that legislators were debating whether it was unreasonable to limit handgun purchases to one a month. Who needs to buy more than one gun a month? . . .

No sooner had I complained in our last issue that nothing had been done about excessive layering in the federal bureaucracy than Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced that he would trim as many as 40 of the 100 or so deputy assistant secretaries at the State Department. But this is such a company town that Christopher, instead of being hailed as a great hero of the people's struggle against the bureaucratic empire, was warned by an editorial in *The Washington Post* to proceed "with care." The State Department, the editorial said, "cannot be accused of having a do-nothing senior management," nor are Foreign Service officers "some kind of ineffectual 'cookie pushers' and action blockers." To disprove such charges, the editorial cites two notably skillful career diplomats.

Of course, there are some marvelous people in the Foreign Service. But there are also far too many mediocre officers whose primary interest seems to be protecting their own careers (See "Too at Home Abroad," Harry Crosby, September 1991), and who spend far too much time reading and writing memos and attending meetings of marginal importance.

The *Post* and the rest of the Washington journalism establishment, instead of offering blanket defenses of government employees, should join in an effort to determine who really deserves encouragement and who should be fired. And they should identify fancy titles that disguise self-aggrandizing sinecures and interfere with getting things done by requiring still another set of initials. . . .

A reader recently wrote asking why there has been so little publicity about the General Accounting Office study that found we could save $67 billion by adopting the Canadian health system. I felt my own version of his concern after watching CNN's Charles Bierbauer interview Senators Rockefeller and Chafee on health care reform for 30 minutes and only ask about the Canadian system in the last 30 seconds. And some press reports about the Canadian system have been misleading. This headline dominated the left side of the front page of the Sunday, March 7 *New York Times*: "Patients Footing the Bill Amid Canadian Cutbacks: Spending Outstrips Government's Ability to Pay." Sounds pretty awful, doesn't it?

Yet if you read beyond the story's scary beginning, you find that the Canadian system "is supported by 85 to 90 percent of the population" and that "95 percent of all Canadians reported receiving the care they needed within 24 hours" at a cost of $1,915 per person compared to the $2,868 spent in America. What are the cutbacks being proposed? "Ending coverage of electrolysis used for the removal of unwanted hair," and "reviewing coverage" of "psychoanalysis, vasectomies, newborn circumcision, in vitro fertilization, and chiropractic, podiatric, and osteopathic services." Wouldn't you be dancing in the streets if your health insurance covered everything besides these items? . . .

I am delighted by recent headlines like "EPA in Sad Shape, New Boss Testifies" and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Clinton Study Finds HUD Mismanaged." The reason I'm pleased is that many new cabinet members, in order to gain the loyalty of the civil servants under them and to protect their budgets, almost immediately become defensive about what's wrong with their new agency. But the beginning of an administration, when the blame can still be pinned on predecessors from the other party, is about the only time problems can be frankly admitted. After a year or so, once the new cabinet member has had a chance to put his stamp on the place, he's certain to become unwilling to acknowledge the slightest flaw in what is now *his* agency. So this is the one time that the administration can feel free to come clean, and for the rest of us to ask questions that push it in the right direction. . . .

THE ARAB WORLD FROM AN ARAB PERSPECTIVE

"A provocative discussion of Arab phenomena.... A well-informed study."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

"This book will become a classic."
—Barbara Aswad, President, Middle East Studies Association

THE ARAB WORLD
Society, Culture, and State
by HALIM BARAKAT
$30.00 at bookstores or order 1-800-822-6657
University of California Press

Clinton has a great opportunity to transform the public service. Because senior executives will become eligible to receive much higher pension benefits beginning in 1994, roughly 3,000 of them—with salaries ranging from $92,900 to $115,700—are expected to retire. The Clinton administration should start recruiting replacements now, identifying truly able people from all over the country who will be dedicated to making the president's programs work. He should not bungle this opportunity as he did the chance to get his government off to a fast start by not having his sub-cabinet appointees ready on January 20. And although there is less fat in these top positions than in the middle of the bureaucracy, there is still enough to warrant a search for jobs that can either be eliminated or consolidated. . . .

Speaking of the need to recruit good people, it is important not only at the top, but as we have often stated, for jobs at the middle and lower levels of civil service as well. A recent study by the General Accounting Office confirmed that government recruiting efforts at the nation's colleges "have been most notable for their absence." . . .

While I'm at it, I might as well grind my other axe, or to be more precise, discuss my other major point of advice to the Clintonites on how to make Washington work. It is to attend to what I call the System of Oversight, by which I mean the combination of OMB, GAO, the various inspectors general within agencies, and the congressional oversight committees through which the government monitors its own performance. This system also includes the vast network of officials such as tax auditors, meat inspectors, and bank examiners, through which it monitors society's compliance with laws and regulations. The internal system does not work well. Too often, people at the top in the White House and Congress don't know about problems until it's too late. Sometimes they know about them but hope the public doesn't find out, and this is where the unofficial member of the oversight team—the press—has a crucial role. The S&L scandal illustrates both points. The OMB was slow to find out about the scandal, and once it did, the White House was able—because the press hadn't been covering the story—to postpone giving the bad news to the public until after the 1988 election.

As for external auditing and examining, the recent meat inspection scandal is just one example of its importance. In addition to that story, there have been other causes for concern which have come to light in the last few months. Bank examiners have been found taking loans from the banks they oversee. And IRS auditors, who in the sixties were covering 5 percent of all taxpayers, are now auditing only 1 percent. The result is a $114 billion a year gap between what taxpayers are required to pay by law and what they actually pay. . . .

Sometimes one detects in *The New York Times* an embarrassing combination of snobbery and Anglophilia. Why else does the paper refer to David Owen as Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance as Mr. Vance when consistency in the use of honorifics would require The Honorable Mr. Vance? . . .

The Japanese may not be the cruel bullies depicted in movies about World War II, like *Purple Heart* or *The Bridge on the River Kwai,* but they can be a tad severe. Take their attitude towards tardiness. Do you recall the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teacher who killed a 15-year-old girl by closing a heavy iron gate on her head when she was late for school? Guess what sentence he got from the Japanese court. Three years probation. . . .

Robert McNamara gets a pretty good going over from John Ralston Saul in this issue (See page 50). Although I agree with most of what Saul has to say, I do want to express my admiration for McNamara's crusade against nuclear weapons. As the former secretary of Defense points out in a recent op-ed in *The New York Times*, worldwide there are about 40,000 nuclear warheads with a total destructive power more than a million times that of the Hiroshima bomb. That stock, even assuming implementation of all arms reduction treaties, is not likely to be reduced below 10,000 in the next decade. Yet common sense tells us that all that is really needed is for the current nuclear powers to retain a total of 100 to 200 warheads to protect themselves against nuclear blackmail by nations developing such weapons secretly or against threats by one another. . . .

We seldom have a kind word to say about congressmen, so I'm happy to report that House Democrats have finally answered our challenge to anyone who is conducting a conference or convention for an allegedly serious purpose to hold it somewhere other than a fancy resort like the Greenbrier or a glamorous city like San Francisco. This year the Democrats held their annual retreat in Baltimore. I trust the Republicans at this moment are making their reservations at the Days Inn in beautiful downtown Buffalo. . . .

Speaking of congressmen, your annual contribution to each member's health insurance is $3,106. That doesn't take into account your contribution to the Capitol Hill clinics and Walter Reed and Bethesda Naval Hospitals, where members of Congress are treated. Nor for that matter does it include the $1,100 paid by the member which, since it comes from his $129,500 salary, is also paid by you. All of which explains why you should ask your congressman why you should pay for his coverage when he's not voting to cover you.

William Avis of Hampton, Virginia, recently wrote *The Washington Post*'s Mike Causey: "I don't begrudge good health coverage to anyone. But while our national leaders are soul-searching about what is good for the rest of us, why don't they offer the rest of us what they already have?"

By the way, you should know that the health insurance program for government employees covers pre-existing conditions. Does your insurance, if you have any, do that? . . .

But health care for government officials isn't the biggest way taxpayers are being ripped off. Pensions are even worse. For example, the taxpayer's annual contribution to each congressman's pension plan, according to *Money* magazine, is $26,289. . . .

A proud moment for RJR Nabisco, the manufacturer of Camel cigarettes: A survey of 12- to 14-year-olds in Chicago junior high schools found that nearly 75 percent preferred Joe Camel ads and most of them said that when they smoke they will buy Camels. . . .

One of my oldest friends, dating back to Charleston High School in

When *Death* is Preferable To Life

Someone you love is dying. She is incontinent, racked with pain, unable to drink, eat or even care. Medical technology works overtime, even when the body can't go on. The grieving family looks to medical professionals for answers that may never come. Sad scenarios like this are played out every day all over the United States.

New directions in social legislation are often the result of leadership from the public at large. Hemlock is the leadership group in the Death With Dignity movement.

You can learn more about Hemlock. There is a Hemlock chapter near you. Write or call today. Ask for Introductory Packet F.

THE HEMLOCK SOCIETY U.S.A.
P.O. Box 11830
Eugene, Oregon 97440
TEL: 800/247-7421

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the early forties, is now a retired admiral. Although he is generally a political moderate and voted for Clinton last fall, he's livid about the possibility of gays in the military. Yet back at Charleston High, we had two male teachers who were widely assumed to be gay and a male janitor who was even said to have propositioned some male students. To the best of my recollection, these facts, or to be more accurate, possibilities, were a source not of indignation, but of amusement to us students.

In the army, I spent considerable time in a hospital ward that had a gay sergeant on its staff. I don't recall any of us being angered by his tentative and easily deflected approaches. At Columbia, which I attended after the army, it seemed to me that a considerable percentage of the English department was gay. The percentage was even higher in the theater where I worked during the summer. I never felt threatened. In fact, the overtures that were made were absurdly easy to turn away. One of my favorite stories illustrates just how easy.

One evening at a party given by Jack Kerouac, he took me into the bedroom and showed me photographs of Arab boys in various states of sexual abandon. I said there was a girl in the living room I'd like to meet. He said, "She's from Mt. Airy, North Carolina, and works for the United Press," and escorted me into the living room and made the introduction. So to my friend the admiral and to all the other worried fellows in the military, I say, relax, it's no big deal. To those who think gays must undermine the masculine image of the military, all the members of the military who are Washington Redskins fans should know that Jerry Smith, one of our most valuable players from 1965 to 1977, was gay. . . .

Having taken a stand that is pro-gay, I'm going to take another that I'm sure many will regard as hostile toward gays. I think Bill Clinton is wrong to lift the ban against HIV-infected aliens. Admitting them not only risks spreading the disease but will also saddle this country with the bill for taking care of those who develop AIDS while they're here. And two things are certain. Virtually all of those who stay will eventually get AIDS, and the cost of their medical treatment will not be insignificant. Why take on this burden when there are so many others we have to bear? . . .

One way to contain health care costs would be to put all doctors on salary. That at least appears to be the lesson revealed by the news that self-employed physicians earn an average of $46,600 more than salaried doctors. . . .

There are revealing insights into the current state of medical practice in America and the virtues of volunteerism in this comment from Leonard Olmstead, a surgeon who is doing volunteer work in Somalia, about his private practice in New Jersey and why he left it. "It's a scramble for money, it's competition with the next surgeon. You scramble and scramble to do a hernia or an appendix. I wanted to be where I was needed. I thought this was better than fighting for a few patients with an established surgeon." . . .

Thomas Hale Boggs, Jr., a.k.a. Tommy Boggs, long one of Washington's top lobbyists, recently argued in *The New York Times* against campaign spending limits on the grounds that they "would protect incumbents blessed with name recognition, franking privileges and free media time." The truth is that most challengers would get down on their knees and praise the Lord if they had the same amount of money to spend as the incumbents.

What incumbents do now, with the dedicated assistance of the Tommy Boggses in Washington, is intimidate potential opponents by raising more funds in advance of the campaign than the challenger can hope to get. Incumbents almost always outspend challengers, not the other way around. As for the media problem cited by Boggs, free television and radio time for both incumbents and challengers can be required of stations as a condition of the licenses granted by the public. As for franking privileges, they should be taken away from incumbents except for mail sent to answer letters from constituents, and not be allowed for the propaganda leaflets and brochures that now flood the mail, burdening both the taxpayer and the mailman. . . .

More facts to support Jerry Brown's $100 limit on campaign contributions. A candidate for the Illinois legislature spent $210,000; one for the Michigan legislature spent $348,000; a Florida candidate spent $880,000; several in California spent more than $1 million. In Oregon, whose Secretary of State, Philip Keisling, supplied these figures, a dozen candidates have spent more than $5 a vote, or the equivalent of spending $500 million in a presidential campaign.

When I ran for the West Virginia legislature in 1960, I spent $400. Legislative races should be run on shoe leather—getting out and getting to know the voters—instead of spending vast sums to propagandize with manufactured television commercials and junk mail. . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Having pioneered the application of anthropology to modern bureaucracy, we at the *Monthly* have been both proud and delighted to have much of the rest of the press join us in recognizing the importance of culture in understanding what goes right and wrong in private bureaucracy—a headline in *The Washington Post*, for example, declared "Anthropology Inc.: The Scientists of Culture Help Business Discern Corporate Rites and Wrongs."

We have had to continue to lament, however, the slow emergence of a similar approach to government bureaucracy. That some progress is being made is indicated by another recent *Post* headline: "Remaking a Culture at the OMB," which ran over an article that described the low value placed on truth at the agency under Richard Darman.

But that the *Post* has not exactly gotten the whole story of what's wrong with the culture at the OMB is suggested by the absence of any mention that the budget agency does not encourage its examiners to do the kind of interviewing that would reveal, for example, that mid-level S&L examiners knew that inflated real estate appraisals were the basis of too many loans, which meant that the loans weren't going to be repaid and that the government would have to bail out the lending institutions. . . .

Two Washington police officers were recently suspended for allegedly having collected overtime for court appearances they did not make. The greater scandal, as any participant in our judicial system can tell you, is the tremendous waste of overtime paid to officers who legally spend hours waiting around courtrooms for appearances that are delayed because of the infinite variety of inefficiencies in a system that is run for the convenience of judges, court administrators, and attorneys, and with almost total disregard for the public interest. The police do not rebel against the waste of their time because they profit from it. Some city detectives, according to *The Washington Post*, make more than $100,000 a year, mostly from court overtime pay. . . .

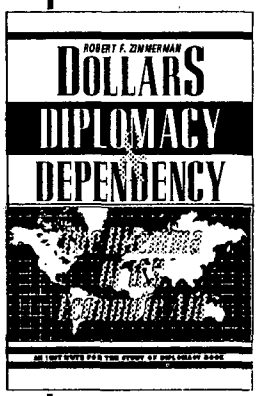
Although it sometimes seems that man can't get his act together and learn from his experiences how to act with wisdom, there are occasional signs that one or two of our collective dim bulbs have brightened perceptively. One such sign is the news that traffic deaths have dropped to their lowest level in 30 years. Ralph Nader, you have done something! Your campaign for safer cars with seat belts and airbags has paid off. The same goes for Mothers Against Drunk Driving. You've changed people. You've saved lives. Not bad. Not bad at all. . . .

—*Charles Peters*

Lynne Rienner Publishers

Politics Without Principle
Sovereignty, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War
David Campbell

Campbell probes the discourse of moral certitude through which, in unambiguous ethical terms, the U.S. and its allies located with Iraq the responsibility for evil • 1993 • hc/$26.50



Dollars, Diplomacy, and Dependency
Dilemmas of U.S. Economic Aid
Robert F. Zimmerman

Zimmerman demonstrates that U.S. foreign economic assistance has largely failed to achieve its economic and social development goals, primarily because it has been used first and foremost as a tool to promote U.S. political and security objectives.

1993 • hc/$42.00 • pb/$17.95
An Institute for the Study of Diplomacy Book

1800 30th Street • Boulder, CO 80301 • (303) 444-6684

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bad Forms

Filling out all those health insurance forms isn't just a pain in the neck, but a multi-billion dollar waste. Clinton's plan may make it worse.

by Christopher Georges

You didn't have to be a brain surgeon, or a surgeon at all, to have suspected that Phillip (not his real name), a 34-year old man with size-C cup breasts, might have had a medical problem. So when a New York-based doctor—who is a surgeon (one with 15 years' experience and a faculty post at a major New York medical school)—diagnosed Phillip in the summer of 1992, he recommended surgery. The operation, which took place last September, was relatively simple and painless. Getting reimbursed was not.

Phillip is *not* one of the nation's 37 million uninsured, but he might as well be, considering the treatment he's received from his insurer. Prior to surgery, both Phillip and his doctor painstakingly submitted an air drop of charts, photographs, and medical reports. The insurer signed off on the procedure, agreeing to $6,250 in coverage. But when it came time to shell out the money after the September operation, the insurer balked. During the next three months, again and again, the insurance company called or wrote asking for additional information. By January, Phillip along with his doctor had spent countless hours forwarding at least two copies of every X-ray, medical chart, invoice, and piece of medical history in the patient's file. At one point, the insurer even demanded a second accounting of Phillip's height. In January, the insurer matter-of-factly reversed its decision, ruling that the operation was "100 percent cosmetic in nature." Phillip, although much trimmer, is now $8,000 poorer, and is filing yet more forms in an appeal to New York State's insurance commission. "The patient is distressed; I'm distressed," says the surgeon. "And it's not just this case. I get one nonsensical request after another from insurance companies."

Research assistance for this article was provided by Mike Bach.

And it's not just the volume of data insurers d mand that's got doctors and patients in a lather, b the questions themselves. There's no telling what t claim form wizards over at Medicare were thinkir when they came up with the possible responses f "Patient Status"—not just your standard "Single" "Married" but an option for "Other." Curious, I fo lowed the advice on the form instructing those wi queries to contact the Office of Financial Manag ment at the Health Care Financing Administration Baltimore. (The fine print also assured me that t form was designed to be completed in 15 minutes less.) The machine on the other end—my "automate receptionist"—offered nine push-button options, i cluding one that would help me with details on t "Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act," but no for marital status. I told the live receptionist I w having trouble filling out the form. "They sure don make it easy, do they?" she said empathetically. "U fortunately," she went on, "the Office of Financi Management no longer exists." I was soon on t phone tour of the agency (by now my 15 minut were up), finally being connected to a friendly fo administrator. So, what about that "Other" optio "Maybe," she offered, admittedly unsure, "it's f people who have more than one spouse?" And wh exactly is that "FECA code" the form asks for? "T be honest, I still haven't learned all the acronyms, she said, "and there's no reference to that one in o instructions." But she did promise to check and fin out. "This thing's a mess," she sighed—referring t the Medicare form—a few questions later. "Yo know, there's a 20-page book that explains it. It's s complicated." You're telling me.

Chances are that even if your only contact wit your doctor is for the occasional check-up, you to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have run up against the medical-form frenzy—perhaps filling out multiple claim forms for a single procedure, battling insurance company clerks over how much they owe you, attempting to prove that your claim is valid, or waiting months for a reimbursement—if it comes at all. Now multiply that headache by, say, 20—the number of patients a doctor might see in an average day. For hospital administrators, multiply it by hundreds. Then multiply that by 250—for each working day of the year. Welcome to the world of modern medicine.

Of course, caring for America's 37 million uninsured should be—and is—the nation's top health care priority. But that doesn't mean we should ignore the Insurance Purgatory we've created—where endless paperwork and jumping through itty-bitty hoops to collect health benefits have become routine.

The recent explosion of the health insurance bureaucracy to department-of-motor-vehicles-proportions has at its core—like most increases in regulation—a noble purpose: an effort by the insurance industry to curb the cost of health care by making doctors, hospitals, and patients report in detail how each dollar is spent. After all, billions of dollars, according to recent studies, are being wasted annually on unneeded hysterectomies or the it-doesn't-hurt-to-check-it-out sonograms.

But, in their Orwellian zeal, insurers are following the same costly, not to mention silly, path travelled by unthinking federal bureaucrats who, for example, in recent years issued regulations on the number of inches required between ladder rungs or the shape of stuffed teddy bears' ears. The result: Excessive regulation by insurers has created a paper swamp that ultimately has *lowered* the quality of—and access to—care. And while the insurance companies continue to claim that their hyper-scrutiny of doctors and hospitals is reducing health care costs, the reality is that we are paying ever more to keep their paperwork flowing. All of which means that the biggest losers are those the new regulatory fervor is intended to protect: patients.

The pain inflicted by paper flood is especially relevant these days, because the foundation of the health care reform plan Billary are leaning toward—managed competition—would rely on *more* and *closer* scrutiny of doctors and hospitals, which will, of course, mean more, more tedious, and more expensive paperwork for all. "We're being held up in a paper nightmare," explains Ilona Doyle, a member of the American Hospital Association's Uniform Billing Committee and patient account manager at Phoenix's Baptist Hospital and Medical Center. "Insurance companies don't want to have to pay without a big fight. It is a game that has gotten out of hand."

Down on the forms

How far out of hand? Health care administration in the United States now costs more than $100 billion annually—nearly 20 percent of total spending on health care. Compare that to Canada, where administrative costs hover around 8 percent of total health costs. Of course, not all of that is a direct result of paperwork, but a lot is. The average physician spends more than three and a half weeks a year filling out paperwork—more time than the average American spends on vacation, costing more than $4.5 billion. Long gone are the days when a sole receptionist handled a doctor's schedule, billing, and even had a few minutes to straighten out the magazines; doctors' assistants now spend an average of one hour nursing *each* insurance claim. In hospitals, it's even worse: It takes the average medical center 11 days to complete the paperwork for a single claim.

And what exactly eats up all the time and money? Consider just one requirement of the average insurance form doctors and other providers must contend with: supplying identification codes. For starters, each of the thousands of diagnoses, treatments, and tests has at least one code. (Not all insurers use the same coding schemes.) If keeping track of these codes doesn't cause vertigo, personal and other ID codes will: Each doctor, clinic, and hospital has its own state license number, private insurance provider code, CHAMPUS code, VA code, FECA code, Indian Health Service provider code (if you happen to treat an American Indian), and federal tax ID code. Hospitals have to apply for up to 50 Medicaid ID numbers, depending on how many states they do business with. (And don't think you can rest easy once you've collected all 50; all providers must reapply annually—via three page applications—to keep each of their Medicaid ID numbers.) Not to be outdone, Medicare requires each hospital to have three codes: one for acute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

care, one for mental health care, and one for other types of care. And there are diagnostic and treatment codes within codes. For certain procedures, such as an electrocardiogram, Medicare requires two codes: the Medicare number of the doctor who performed the test and the ID of the physician who requested it (which, of course, means tracking down the other physician to get his code). Confused yet? There's more. If the physician performed the test of his own volition, two codes are still required—his regular ID and his special self-referring ID. And how does the physician know which procedures require two codes? He doesn't, until Medicare returns the form pointing out a missing code.

Many insurers require certain specialists, such as physical therapists and anesthesiologists, to list their services in 15 minute intervals. Some require doctors to type out any handwritten notes—even records scrawled on emergency room charts—before even considering a claim. Others, especially Medicare, are notorious for reimbursing physicians for the wrong amount, then requiring a complete refiling of papers to set the record straight. One Mount Sinai Medical Center immunologist, Dr. Michael Chandler, who administers a series of 14 allergy tests to most of his first-time patients, explains that he is routinely reimbursed for just one. Even though Chandler now prints in large block letters across the top of his Medicare claim forms "I DID 14 TESTS," Medicare remains unfazed, requiring him to refile every time.

So illogical is some of the scrutiny that doctors and hospital administrators insist that the aim of insurers is less to catch wasteful spending than to defer paying out reimbursements for as long as legally possible. "Health insurance is one of the only industries in America," says Dr. Margaret Lewin, a New York internist and oncologist, "where being fast and efficient means losing money."

Forms and discontent

A few years back, insurers weren't so skeptical. "Doctors did whatever they wanted, and insurers simply paid," explains Dr. David Himmelstein, an associate professor of Medicine at Harvard Medical School and national spokesman for Physicians for a National Health Program. But as medical costs skyrocketed in the eighties, so did insurance premiums. When unhappy insurance buyers complained, the insurance industry blamed doctors. Armed with academic studies that reported more than $70 billion wasted annually on unnecessary procedures, insurers charged that physicians had grown test-and-treatment-happy. The way to curb costs, they argued, would be to curb doctors by making them account for every dollar they spent.

That meant engineering an intricate system of checks on doctors and hospitals. For example, as part of the pre-procedure screening (known as utilization review), doctors are quizzed, usually by phone, by insurance company managers, usually nurses or clerks, on why a test or treatment was prescribed. Aetna Life and Casualty in Hartford employs 1,000 nurses in its review department. Often, the nurses consult a checklist or log the responses into a computer to determine whether a treatment is considered valid and should be covered.

No doubt some doctors were (and still are) abusing the system. Insurers say that for every $1 spent probing doctors before they order a test or treatment, $5 are saved. Travelers Insurance, for example, finds that nearly 12 percent of 28 of the most common procedures, such as allergy testing and clotted artery surgery, have been deemed unnecessary, explains Dr. F. Warren Tingley, Travelers' national medical director. And nationwide, says Kylann Green of the Health Insurance Association of America, up to 10 percent of all doctors' requests are being rejected, not only saving money, but sparing thousands of patients unneeded treatments.

That, of course, sounds encouraging. But as any good doctor knows, raw data can be deceptive. Doctors and hospital administrators argue that the hidden costs of the new bureaucracy easily outweigh the insurance industry's gains. First, the increased scrutiny raises the cost of care—a cost that, naturally, gets passed along to patients. With thousands of insurance company nurses and clerks now quizzing hospitals and doctors, someone has to man the other end of the line, which has meant creating an expensive medical community bureaucracy to mirror the insurance industry's. The Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, for example, was forced in recent years to hire 70 full-time employees to field the more than 300 calls a week from more than 2,000 probing insurance companies, explains Mark Koch, a Mayo administrator. And at some hospitals, such as Johns Hopkins, it costs more than $100 just to assemble the average patient's bill. If the cost of health care administration continues to rise at the current rate, it will absorb approximately one-third of the nation's health care budget by 2000.

But the more dangerous outcome is what doctors say is an unavoidable drop in quality and access to care. When insurers rely on checklists and computers to second-guess doctors' diagnoses, mediocre medicine is all but certain. "Doctors may rely on a mental checklist when diagnosing a patient," explains Dr. Nicholas Macris, an immunologist at New York's Lenox Hill Hospital, "but that's just one part of the process." What separates a good doctor from an ordinary one is often the ability to escape from a rigid checklist mentality.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hang around the doctors' lounge and you'll hear enough stories of insurers' stubbornness to fill a med-school textbook. In one case, Blue Cross Blue Shield of New York refused to pay for a series of standard blood tests administered to an elderly man who was suffering from severe heart disease, had recently had an aortic valve replaced, and was being treated for blepharitis, an illness that causes pain and swelling in the eyes. For more than four months, both the physician, Macris, and the patient battled Blue Cross, providing the required documentation, only to be told the tests were either not related to any of the patient's illnesses or not "appropriate with regards to standards of good medical practice." (Just what illness would this patient need to merit coverage? Blue Cross wouldn't say.) In another case, a private insurer questioned the medical validity of admitting to a hospital a man suffering from leukemia who had developed a 103-degree fever and had a dangerously low white blood count. The physician, Lewin, was required by the insurer to prove to insurance clerks that the admission was a valid one. "There isn't a civilized country in the world," says Lewin, "that wouldn't immediately accept this as proper treatment."

Yet as more physicians divert their attention from care to forms, more checklist medicine is what we're sure to get. Lewin, echoing the sentiments of many colleagues, says she spends about one-half to one-third of her time "face-to-face with patients" and the rest up to her face in paperwork.

Not only does this help explain why it's tougher to find a Marcus Welby these days, but, for some patients, to find a doctor at all. More and more physicians, such as Lewin, are refusing to take patients enrolled with certain insurers or Medicare. "My experiences with certain companies were so uniformly bad that I decided to tax myself and not deal with patients on certain plans," explains Chandler. In fact, according to recent media reports, more and more frustrated doctors are cutting back on their hours, retiring, or leaving the practice altogether, specifically citing the "hassle factor" of dealing with the medical bureaucracy.

Form-less

If Clinton has his way, this bureaucratic blizzard may actually get worse. True, managed competition—the solution the Clinton administration seems likely to adopt—could reduce some of the paperwork burden by bundling patients into large groups. (Because these large pools would offer all members essentially the same type of policies, the cost and administrative hassle of keeping track of who's insured and with how much coverage would be streamlined.) But, managed competition, like the current system, places a high premium on micromanaging doctors and hospitals, relying on insurance clerks and other non-medical "managers" to continue to oversee what types of procedures are acceptable, for whom, and when. (While the Clinton administration has also stated that it expects to help develop a "standard claim form" to help eliminate some of the bureaucratic confusion, keep in mind that insurers have tried, unsuccessfully, for 20 years to create such a form.)

Fortunately, there is a solution: Keep the best of managed competition—grouping patients into large, cost effective groups—while freeing doctors and patients from hyper-scrutiny. It's such a good idea that it's already been created—in Canada. True, a single payer plan doesn't carry a whole lot of currency in Washington these days, but not only would it provide care for the uninsured, it would eliminate the paperwork overload, while controlling wasteful spending.

That's because in Canada hospitals are paid a lump sum (or global amount) to cover all operating expenses, and physicians bill the government directly for all fees. Since each hospital is given a pre-set amount to spend each year, doctors know that whenever money is wasted on a questionable treatment, another patient who truly needs care may be forced to go without. Thus, Big Brother managers are not needed: Doctors and hospitals manage themselves. "If you have a group of cows and you want to limit how much they pasture, there are two ways to do it," explains Himmelstein, an advocate of a Canadian style plan. "You can simply put a fence around them, as they do in Canada, or you can do what we do here: Tie a string around the neck of each cow so that every time he bends down to take a bite, you feel the tug, run over, and make sure he takes the right amount."

Keeping doctors within the fence would also cut down on paperwork. Since all citizens receive the same basic coverage, patients never fill out complicated insurance forms, and doctors' and hospitals' paperwork is minimal. They simply apply to one insurer (the government) and know at all times how to apply for reimbursement, what procedures will be covered, and by what amount. So it should come as little surprise that in Canada just 1.2 percent of all premiums goes to administrative costs of providing insurance, compared to 12 percent—or about $19 billion—that covers the administrative costs of insurers in the U.S.

The result isn't just fewer bureaucratic hassles, but a leaner system. The biggest bonus, however, is that the amount saved by reducing bureaucratic expenses through a single payer system in the U.S.—about $70 billion—would more than offset the added cost of fully covering America's uninsured—$64 billion. And wasn't that the object of the medical-form frenzy in the first place? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Money for Nothing

When I signed up for a get-rich-quick course, I was told suckers were a dime a dozen. Did that include me?

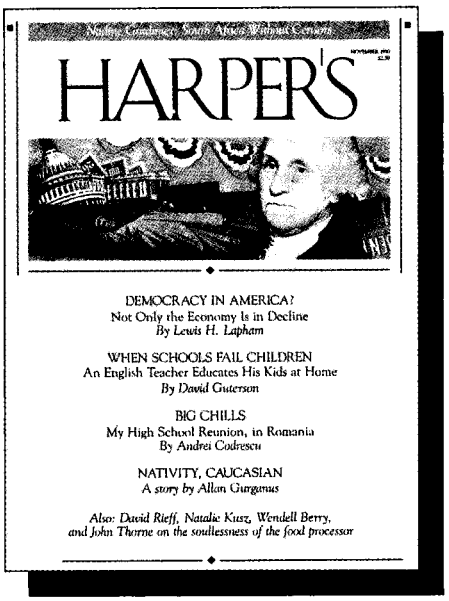
by Art Levine

"How would you like to make a lot of money?" It seemed to be just another late-night TV ad for a get-rich-quick course, like so many that clog the airwaves in these recessionary times—but, somehow, this time I felt it was speaking directly to me. The announcers were touting the course offered by Mike and Irene Milin, two Houston-based real estate investors. As the screen flashed images of the Milins leaving their mansion, soaking in a hot tub, and flying in a private plane, I leaned forward, eager to learn their secrets of wealth. I certainly could use the help: My net worth—including a few thousand in savings—was the equivalent of a

Art Levine is a contributing editor of The Washington Monthly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It's not homework.



Just because a magazine is intelligent and challenging doesn't mean reading it has to be hard work.

On one side, there are the general media magazines filled with the usual hype. They spoon-feed their readers the same old easy-to-digest mush. And on the other side are the stodgy, long-winded intellectual magazines. You can find some good reading in them – if you have the time and energy to search for it.

Then there's Harper's Magazine. Smart, but always concise and to the point. Every issue is loaded with gems of thought, opinion, wit and humor. Harper's is a pleasure to read. But that makes it no less serious. You'll find articles, essays, letters and fiction that consistently challenge conventional perceptions.

Harper's presents facts objectively, allowing you to draw your own conclusions. And speaking of facts, how about "Harper's Index"? It's a statistical tapestry, a minefield of unpredictable information. Try to stop reading it once you've started. You can't.

Harper's Magazine is original and inspiring. It's truly exceptional.

And right now you can take advantage of a special introductory deal; a full year of Harper's Magazine–12 issues–for *only $12*. That's 66% off the regular newsstand price. Not only that, it's risk-free, because if at any time during your subscription you're not completely satisfied, you can simply cancel for a full refund on all unmailed copies.

Fill out and mail the attached postage-paid card. And get ready – soon you'll be enjoying your first issue of Harper's.

☐ Yes, please send me Harper's at the special introductory rate of 12 issues for $12.

☐ I prefer two years (24 issues) for $22.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

☐ Bill me later. ☐ Payment enclosed.

Mail to: Harper's Subscription Department, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10012.

Please allow 6-8 weeks for your first issue. Canada $21 (CDN funds), includes postage. All other countries $38 (U.S. dollars only), includes special delivery.

HH112

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mid-priced sedan (options not included). Mike promised that "anyone can make money if you're willing to work a program of action."

In quick succession, the testimonials began: A parking lot attendant who made $13,500 buying discounted real estate, a young immigrant who made $56,000 at a government auction . . . Normally, I might simply have scoffed, but when the announcer intoned, "Stop making excuses and take control of your financial future—today," I knew I had no choice but to make my pilgrimage to hear these wealth-building gurus and try for myself the magical techniques they offered at their $10-a-head seminar.

I wasn't alone. All across America, thousands of people are flocking to hear dozens of self-styled experts on wealth tell them how to get rich. People like the Milins, Tom Vu, Robert Allen, and Charles Givens offer a seductive mix of rags-to-riches tales and seemingly easy-to-follow recipes for success that spur sales of their books, tapes, and seminars. But do their methods really work? I was determined to find out. In doing so, I would not only address an issue of great public concern, but, equally important, I could make piles of money for the first time in my life.

When the announcer intoned, "Stop making excuses and take control of your financial future—today," I knew I had no choice but to make my pilgrimage to hear these wealth-building gurus and try for myself the magical techniques they offered at their $10-a-head seminar.

Affluent, sophisticated investors generally don't go to budget-priced hotels at 9 a.m. on a Saturday to learn how to get rich quickly. So I shouldn't have been too surprised to find that many of the 350 would-be millionaires who shuffled into the hotel ballroom in suburban Maryland to hear the Milins were bricklayers, computer operators, and the like. Mike Milin, a short, pudgy man in a cheap-looking gray suit and orange tie, was the cheerleader of the wonder couple. Speaking with a quiet intensity, the balding, nerd-like Milin said, "I can teach any one of you, no matter how broke you are, that if you're willing to work just four, six, eight hours a week, you can retire in less than two years from now with a cash income of $10,000 to $15,000 a month." And there was a way we could jump-start that perpetual cash machine: by going to government auctions. "Anybody here willing to take a day off work can put $1,000, $1,500, maybe $2,500 in your pocket," Milin announced.

Unfortunately, their cash flow system was actually a series of complicated leasing arrangements that depended on finding desperate owners willing to let you take over their property for a song. I became even more despondent when Irene chirped happily about their book, *Landlording Made Easy.* Not only was I not qualified to become a landlord, but by the rigorous screening methods the Milins used, I wouldn't even qualify to become a *tenant.* After an hour of listening to the Milins, I had gone from aspiring millionaire to worrying about becoming homeless.

There was, however, still a reason to hope. The banks and government auctions Mike hyped sounded like an especially easy way to make money: For instance, he and Irene, he claimed, once picked up a Mercedes, a BMW, and a few motorscooters in a back lot for $100. Mike flashed some genuine-looking sales documents.

The only catch was that we'd have to shell out $495. This would entitle us to books, tapes, and the right to participate in the Milins' co-venture program which doled out money to "graduates" who found incredible bargains and then split the profits with the gurus. The steep price was a barrier to most people in the room: "For the average person, $500 is quite a lot," Kevin Griffin, a 27-year-old postman, told me. But I somehow managed to convince Mike Milin to grant me a cut-rate deal since I desperately needed to experience the course for the sake of in-depth journalism.

To lay the groundwork for my future success, Milin-style, I'd first have to generate quick cash. Since heroin dealing was not a viable option, I turned my attention to auctions, that gold mine of $100 BMWs. Beginners, the Milins advised, should start by previewing goods at Department of Defense (DOD) auctions, where we'd find everything from office equipment to aircraft; then we were urged to line up buyers before the auction in order to guarantee a high profit margin. When I read their book, *Auctions Made Easy*, I was inspired by the example of "Joe," a typical auction buyer, who could pyramid a $100 investment in ten IBM Selectric typewriters into ever-fancier purchases, leading ultimately to the buying and re-selling of a Mercedes for a $19,000 profit. At the bottom of the chart, it shows Joe using

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

part of the proceeds to go to Hawaii and smiling under a palm tree.

Unfortunately, my own trip to Hawaii seemed likely to be delayed for a while. I visited the manager of one store that specialized in typewriters and broached the idea of selling him discounted typewriters from the government. He shook his head and chuckled derisively. "Do you think I'd buy that beat-up crap from you?" he said. "I can call up a wholesaler this afternoon and order equipment that I know will be in good condition. The only reason they're selling those crappy typewriters at auctions is because no other agency in the government wanted them."

It's that kind of negative thinking that can make getting rich difficult. But, I was still optimistic, since the Milins had agreed to put up the money if I found a deal with at least $10,000 in profit potential. What could be easier? So I borrowed a friend's car and drove to Ft. Belvoir in suburban Virginia to prospect for bargains. My heart pounded with excitement as I walked into a huge corrugated white hangar filled with the discount merchandise that could change my life. I soon realized, though, that I was faced with an odd assortment of what seemed to be mostly abandoned electronic equipment brought back from Iwo Jima.

But soon I found the kind of bargains I was looking for. The first item was a large green metal object called a "spectroscope" that had been manufactured by the prestigious Bausch and Lomb company. I didn't know what a spectroscope was, but the government had originally purchased it for nearly $11,000, and that was good enough for me. If I offered just a few dollars for it and re-sold it to a lab, I could make more than $10,000 for just a few minutes of work. But that was a mere pittance compared to what seemed to be at least $70,000 worth of data management software in the corner of the hangar. The Marine Corps had originally paid more than $100,000 for the software, PC Focus, and now there were 142 unopened boxes being sold; each box was worth as much as $500 wholesale, I later learned. All I had to do was line up a wholesaler willing to buy the software, and I'd be rolling in money. For a few hours of work, I could earn $80,000 or so for the spectroscope and computer software just by using the research and verbal skills I'd honed as a low-paid journalist.

But first I had to learn how much the software and spectroscope were actually worth. With a few phone calls to a naval research center, I found a scientist who had actually worked in the lab where the spectroscope had been installed. Paydirt! The machine had been used to analyze metals, he explained. But then he elaborated: It was a vintage item from the forties that had long been supplanted by more modern equipment. No one knew if it even worked. "It might make a nice addition to the Smithsonian," he said.

But I could still make a killing with the computer software. I called the leading distributor of PC Focus and learned that the company indeed had some interest in buying the deeply discounted software from me. I couldn't believe my luck. I rushed out to my car, excited by all the money I'd soon be making—and then accidentally drove over a cement parking barrier, damaging the underside of my friend's car. The $140 I had to pay her was, I knew, a small price to pay for the tens of thousands I'd score on this software coup.

Over the next few days, I worked frantically to hammer together a deal. I faxed the Milins the glorious news that we could make a $30,000 profit on this software, if they'd only back me with their money. While I waited for their response, the distributor told me it couldn't find corporate purchasers for the software, and under the terms of the original sale to the Marine Corps, the software shouldn't be resold. So on top of everything, I might be sued. Perhaps the Milins would rescue me, though, and I hurried to pick up their fax on the day of the auction. The fax read, "We do not have buyers for outdated software." Returning home, I threw away my Hawaii brochures in disgust, and I didn't even attend the auction. The software ended up being sold (illegally) for $60, the spectroscope for $10. Perhaps, I decided, auctions wouldn't be my route to wealth after all.

Million-errs

My next venture: real estate. There were plenty of real-estate wizards who touted their secrets to wealth on TV, but I was most fascinated by Tom Vu, the Vietnamese immigrant who clawed his way up from refugee camps to lavish Florida mansions and yachts filled with gorgeous bikinied babes. As he stood on the tennis court of one of his seven mansions in Orlando, he told the camera in a thick Oriental accent, "I'll show you how to make millions in real estate starting from nothing." On top of that, if we attended his seminar, we'd learn the "three little words that can change anyone's life," passed on to him by a rich old man when Vu was just a busboy.

The seminar room was packed with hundreds of people eager to see Vu and, presumably, learn the three little words. Apparently, the attendees didn't watch tabloid TV shows, because a day earlier, the program "Inside Edition" had aired an exposé pointing out that nine out of ten people who take Vu's most intensive, hands-on training course don't earn their money back. The cost: $16,000. (A few months

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after I saw Vu, the Florida attorney general began investigating him for unfair trade practices, and a class-action suit was filed in San Francisco.)

Despite the criticisms, in person, the man was truly inspiring. "Your dreams can come true without using cash or credit," he told us. "You don't need $200,000 to buy a house—you can use 10 bucks out of your pocket."

What could make all this possible but the three little words? Yet he didn't reveal them until near the end of his presentation (and, if you pay close attention, boys and girls, I will tell you the magic words, too. Maybe.) At the seminar, we discovered that if we wanted to learn more about his secrets of success, we'd have to pony up $1,500 for a weekend course, or $16,000 for the five-day course that supposedly included the opportunity to buy property with the Vu organization's guidance and money.

After taking the Milin and Vu courses and attending several other seminars, I was convinced that there were indeed hundreds of desperate homeowners in my area eager to unload their properties for practically nothing.

The course itself was run by a Daytona Beach realtor in a black polyester sports jacket who stressed how simple it is to buy real estate in hard times. "All you need is time and $10," he told the 40 or so struggling middle-class types. The basic principle of the program was to find "motivated sellers," those desperate to sell because of job loss, job transfer, death, or other tragedies. For a mere $10, we could obtain a contract to purchase their property, and then, before settlement, sell the purchase rights to an investor. More advanced students could put up their own cash to buy the property outright and make bigger profits.

After taking the Milin and Vu courses and attending several other seminars, I was convinced that there were indeed hundreds of desperate homeowners in my area eager to unload their properties for practically nothing. To line up investors, all I needed was to place an ad in the paper claiming to be a real estate investor offering properties at 15 to 20 percent below market value.

For $23, I placed that bogus ad and indeed snared a few phone calls, but the most interested investor was a 21-year-old high school dropout named Don. And after scouring the foreclosure notices, I soon learned that the few homeowners I found who appeared desperate—based on their ads—weren't nearly as hungry to sell as I'd hoped. One couple, for instance, who announced in their ad, "MOVING . . . MUST SELL," turned out to be just looking for a bigger house. They were clearly prosperous people, and I hung up the phone quickly, frustrated that the recession hadn't yet ruined more families in the area.

Then I ran across a promising prospect: "BETHESDA—Reduced, owner moving . . . $179,000." I called the owner and found out that he'd had his house on the market for eight months and was getting ready to retire to Arizona. It was just what any Tom Vu graduate was looking for: an impoverished retiree who would be forced to survive on Social Security unless he sold his house to me. My goal, the Vu course told me, was to get him to sell it for 30 percent below market, so I could re-sell it to an investor. I consulted the course's tips on deal-making—"plant fear," it advised—and called the Vu organization hotline for last-minute negotiating advice. "It doesn't matter what the truth is," one instructor advised me about calculating a price bid. "It's whatever you can slip by them."

I felt slightly guilty about taking advantage of a poor old man, but I was determined to score my first deal the Tom Vu way. Yet as I approached his small, two-bedroom, gray-brick house, I'd almost convinced myself that I was actually a "problem-solver," as Tom Vu called us, doing him a favor by seeking to steal his house dirt-cheap. The man who greeted me, though, wasn't the doddering senior citizen I'd expected, but a bearded, single man in his late fifties who worked as a psychologist for the government. My heart sank—that meant he'd had a steady professional job for years, and probably solid savings.

We sat down in his living room. He stared at the TV, occasionally looking at me in a jaded, wary way. It was hardly the frightened anxiety I was hoping for. Still, I pressed on: "Because I offer all cash at closing," I said, glancing at the Vu-scripted spiel I had scribbled into my notebook, "and, you know, close quickly, uh, what I'd like to offer you is below market, but, uh, in fact amounts to what is, like, the net selling price . . . " I postponed as long as possible the dreadful moment when I'd actually have to name a price, fearful that he'd punch me out for insulting him. So I tried to pave the way by citing the selling costs, such as real estate commissions, that he'd save by selling to me at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a rock-bottom price. He interrupted with a blank, cold stare: "I already deducted that." Flustered, I looked at my crib sheet and cited other costs he might save by selling to me, Mr. Cash Investor. "Plus, because I'll be paying you all cash, I think a reasonable figure is"—I glanced down at my calculations and added a few thousand on the spot—"about $140,000." I looked at him with nervous hope.

"We don't have any room to talk at all. Let's not waste our time," he barked.

"Really?" I said, confused and dejected, wondering why the Tom Vu method hadn't worked for me.

"I already have an offer that's much more than that." He added, "If I'm going to give it away, I'm going to give it away to a poor family, not to an investor."

"Well, I guess you don't have a need to quickly have a check for $140,000," I said with defeated sarcasm.

"No, I'm not desperate at all."

Dammit, I thought to myself. How can I find a real-life seller I can hoodwink?

I had one last chance to make big money in real estate: dealing with troubled banks and the Resolution Trust Corporation, which has taken over failed savings and loans. The bankers were so desperate, the gurus had told me, that they'd practically give away their foreclosed properties. But my luck was no better there than in my other schemes: I faced everything from indifferent bureaucrats to deposit requests that were beyond my means. "Ten dollars," one bank's broker told me, "won't work in this area." Oh—*now* they tell me.

It was small comfort to realize that I wasn't alone in my frustrating effort to get rich quickly. Most seminar graduates don't even try to follow the advice

The Washington Monthly Journalism Award

FOR JANUARY 1993 IS PRESENTED TO:

The Editors
Garbage

Downy in the reusable bottle may seem the smartest way to fight the country's mounting garbage problem, but the editors of this bi-monthly "practical journal for the environment" have news for you: The increase in consumer waste has more to do with demographics than shrink-wrap. In the past 20 years, the number of households has risen twice as fast as population growth (due to delayed marriage, a higher divorce rate, and a larger elderly population). Moreover, much packaging—44 percent to be exact—derives from shipping-related materials like pallets and cardboard cartons, whereas only 15 percent is from consumer products. And a lot of packaging, especially wrapping on meat and chicken, is essential to our collective health. Shrewd enviromentalists, the editors argue, should worry more about how packaging is made (the energy and resources that go into its production) than where it ends up. Corporate "image enhancers" like returnable glass bottles and legislative efforts that target disposal, as opposed to manufacture, may salve the public's conscience, but won't make the world much greener.

FOR DECEMBER 1992 IS PRESENTED TO:

Brian Ross and Rhonda Schwartz
Dateline NBC

Wal-Mart has made a fuss—and a fortune—claiming that whenever possible, the goods it sells are "Made in the USA." But according to this Dateline report, much that the world's largest retailer sells is about as American as shrimp lo mein. What Wal-Mart places on racks beneath "Made in the USA" signs is often imported from a variety of infamous places. Some merchandise, the investigation found, came from the Sharaka factory in Bangladesh—a child sweat shop notorious even by the subcontinent's own notorious labor standards—where 25 workers, many of them children, were killed in a fire two years ago. Another favorite Wal-Mart factory in China is the launching point for a huge smuggling operation where garments are produced on the cheap and then affixed with "Made in Malaysia" labels to avoid quotas on Chinese goods. Dateline sums up Wal-Mart's big lie with this startling statistic: Last year the company imported 288 million pounds of merchandise from Hong Kong and China, 8,000 times what it was importing before it began boasting about buying American.

The Monthly Journalism Award is presented each month to the best newspaper, magazine, television, or radio story (or series of stories) on our political system. Nominations for any newspaper, magazine, or radio or television station in the country are welcome. The subject can be government in its federal, state, or municipal manifestation. Please send nominations to Monthly Journalism Award, 1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Two copies of the article or broadcast text should accompany the nomination.

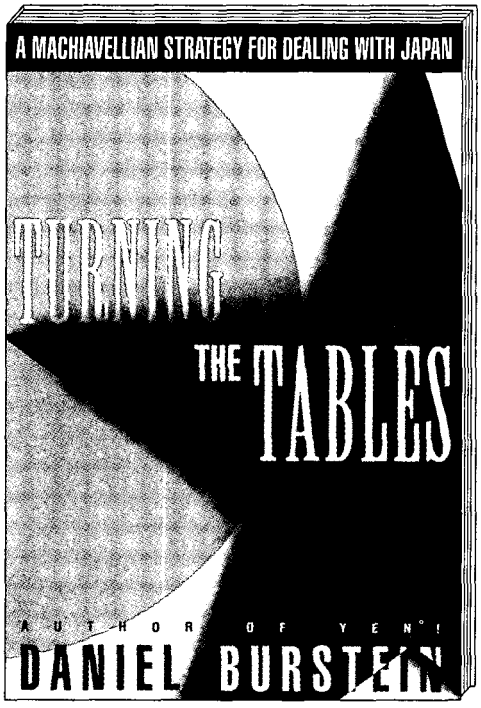
Nominations for stories published or aired in April will close May 15. The winner will be announced in the July/August issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"PRESIDENT CLINTON SHOULD READ THIS BOOK.

...Daniel Burstein is worth listening to, because he has a unique ability to see the forest for the trees."

—Dr. Irwin L. Kellner, Chief Economist,
Chemical Banking Corporation



"Daniel Burstein goes beyond his now-classic analysis of Japanese financial might to show how the power of the Japanese engine could be harnessed to American interests. His provocative call for a Pacific community should be read by corporate and government leaders alike. This book could help herald a new, more promising era for the U.S.-Japan relationship."

—Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Harvard Business School,
professor and author of *When Giants Learn to Dance*

SIMON & SCHUSTER
A Paramount Communications Company

they're given, I found, and those that do generally make little, if any, money. Some lose a lot more: Darlene Hara, a California strawberry farmer, filed a class action suit after spending $44,000 on various Tom Vu programs. She charges that his methods didn't work and that he didn't follow through on promises to back graduates financially on good property deals. Mark Barnett, then chief of the Florida attorney general's consumer bureau, says, "We have reason to believe that the law has been violated." But Vu's attorney, Richard Wheeler, says that Vu never made the sweeping promises to finance their purchases that his critics allege. Vu himself says of the disenchanted: "I give them my best, but I can't make money for them."

Vu's only the latest of the no-money-down types to run into trouble. In the eighties, Al Lowry, Ed Beckley, and Robert Allen, among others, told their acolytes they could cash in on fast-rising real estate prices by using tricky "nothing down" techniques. But by the late eighties, Lowry declared bankruptcy, Allen had IRS troubles, and Beckley acceded to the Iowa attorney general's demand that he return $2.3 million to 10,000 unsatisfied customers—but never did, declaring bankruptcy in 1987. In the nineties, a new generation of get-rich-quick salesmen are capitalizing on falling real estate prices and collapsing savings-and-loan companies to make it seem as if any idiot can make a fortune with virtually no investment.

Getting rich quickly turned out to have been very costly. I'd used over $2,100 worth of goods and services in my drive toward wealth, but I still had nothing to show for it. But as I reviewed the tapes and literature again, seeing once more the inspirational tales of success, I couldn't help but think I still had other chances to make my millions, if I'd only try a little harder. In the immortal three little words of Tom Vu: "NEVER GIVE UP!" □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Married with Alibi

Why women aspiring to political office shouldn't use the my-husband-did-it excuse

by Karen Lehrman

As President Clinton's tortured quest for a female attorney general came to a halt with an unmarried, childless woman who lived with her mother, some feminist commentators took to seeing the fiasco as further proof of a backlash against working women, especially working mothers. But before Zoë Baird becomes any sort of fashionable feminist icon, suburbia's answer to Anita Hill, it's important not to gloss over one of her saga's key plot points. When faced with explaining why she broke immigration law by hiring a couple of illegally situated babysitters, Baird, a lawyer for more than 15 years now earning nearly half a million dollars a year, did what every self-respecting housewife in the fifties would have done: She blamed her husband.

True, she accepted responsibility for breaking the law, and she also apologized. But throughout the confirmation hearings, she repeatedly blamed Yale Law professor Paul Gewirtz for the screw-up: "Since my husband did this . . . I understood from what my husband told me, not reading the statute or not from talking to the lawyers myself . . . My understanding of the legal advice coming to me secondhand . . . My understanding is that my husband did not complete an I-9 form. . . ."

According to Baird, it was Gewirtz who handled all of the legal and tax work in hiring the Peruvian couple. The implication is that Gewirtz didn't do a very good job as the family's lawyer and that he didn't fully inform his wife of what was at stake. Either way, Baird or her handlers felt she could gain sympathy and perhaps even absolve herself of some responsibility if Gewirtz was prepared to shoulder blame.

Her husband may have botched the matter, but that doesn't excuse Baird for not being fully involved in the decision-making in the first

Karen Lehrman is writing a book about post-ideological feminism. Research assistance for this article was provided by Mike Bach.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

place. Indeed, what Baird knew and when she knew it seems entirely secondary; opting out of, or not wanting to know about, a serious legal issue concerning her family is what is damning. Equality, after all, begins in the home. Just as disconcerting was how Baird seemed to want special dispensation both as a distracted careerist on the go *and* as a concerned and somewhat frantic mommy. "Quite honestly, I was acting at that time really more as a mother than as someone who would be sitting here designated to be attorney general," she told the committee. How does being a mother absolve you of taking an interest in the family's financial affairs?

Baird, who apparently rose from a working class background by dint of her own talent and energy, in this case let ambition vanquish her feminist principles. Faced with the potentially greatest disaster of her career, she reflexively reached for the easiest alibi possible—her husband. This is "Stand by Your Man" updated for the nineties: stick around, ladies, and when it gets really hot your husband will take the heat. Equally implicit in all this is that dealing with money and taxes is men's work; women don't have a head for such things.

Luckily for women, Baird's testimony didn't cut it, though not because she blamed her husband. The notion of an attorney general breaking the law wasn't going to fly no matter whom she tried to blame. But the excuse has worked in the past, and it doesn't say much about our state of cultural evolution that extraordinarily successful women and a Democratic administration think they can still get away with it. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown also confessed to not paying Social Security taxes for his babysitter; how would it wash if he had tried to blame his wife?

This is not to say that pinning it on the wife hasn't been tried, but the perpetrators tend to end up lampooned in the pages of *Spy* magazine. That's precisely where Lawrence Smith, a Democratic congressman from Florida, found himself after he fobbed off 161 House bank overdrafts on his wife claiming that "She assumed there would be money to cover it." Another Democrat from Florida, Jim Bacchus, also got the *Spy* treatment when he blamed three overdrafts on his over-extended spouse: "Perhaps she was hurried. Perhaps Jamey, then just a few weeks old, began crying. Whatever the reason, Rebecca apparently mistook a 2 for a 9." Bacchus was just stating outright what Baird had implied: Asking a woman to keep the books is just asking for trouble.

Eleanor Holmes Norton tried a variation on this theme when she ran for D.C. delegate to Congress in 1990. Before running, she was a Georgetown University law professor, living the life, she claims, of an intellectual, with no interest in money or public office. Four days before the Democratic primary, though, word was anonymously leaked to reporters that she and her husband had failed to file D.C. income tax returns for seven years during the eighties. Norton claims she was as surprised as the rest of us: Her husband was responsible for the family's taxes and had assured her that their financial affairs were in order. "I love and trust my husband and realize that his lack of candor resulted from an understandable reluctance of a busy man to admit to his procrastination," Norton said in a written statement at the time. Her husband, also a lawyer and a former chairman of the D.C. Board of Elections and Ethics, offered several explanations for the mishap, including not being able to find the proper tax form.

The Nortons eventually paid nearly $90,000 in back taxes, penalties, and interest, and Mr. Norton held a news conference urging voters to blame him for the tax problems. But even if her husband *was* to blame, Norton did herself no favors by saying so. The impression left was that she had ceded financial responsibility to her husband, who had perpetrated a major tax fraud right under her unwitting nose. She seemed duped and incapable—not the sort of person you would trust with an $800,000 budget, which is what she now oversees. Nonetheless, she won the election. Eleven days later, apparently as a result of this episode, the couple separated.

And then there is the most celebrated my-husband-did-it case of all: Geraldine Ferraro. In 1984 as the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, and again in her campaign for the New York Democratic Senate nomination last year, Ferraro was besieged with questions about her husband's financial affairs and alleged Mafia ties. In 1984 it was disclosed that her husband's real estate management company, among other possible improprieties, rented space to a Mafia-run child pornography operation. Ferraro promised to have the kiddie porn firm removed immediately, but three years and $300,000 in rent elapsed before it was finally evicted.

Feminists claimed that it was unfair that she should be tarred with her husband's business dealings. But Ferraro is listed as a shareholder and as the secretary-treasurer of the company. She not only knew about these dealings, she benefitted from them personally.

Norton, Baird, and Ferraro tried to draw from two contradictory eras: the one that they grew up in and the one in which they now live. They sought and earned a prominence conceivable only in the nineties atmosphere of equal rights and opportunities, while taking refuge in the lady-of-the-house ethics of the fifties. Women should not feel licensed to regress to vacuum-cleaner mores any more than men should be able to devolve into patronizing cads. Siding firmly with the gains of the nineties means laying to rest the husband excuse once and for all. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Service Charge

If Clinton wants to make national service work, he's got to think big and cheap

by Tom Hayden

The most nostalgic link between the Clinton era and the Kennedy administration for me is the rebirth of the early Peace Corps idealism in the promise of a National Service Corps. But between the promise and the deed often falls a shadow. Will President Clinton's call to national service promote a new generation of genuine social idealism, or wither as the Peace Corps has?

During the Clinton inaugural I visited a burned-out building in Washington, a ruined residue of the rioting after Martin Luther King Jr.'s murder in 1968. There, on a January day 25 years later, hundreds of young people were cleaning, painting, and restoring the building to become a youth policy and action center. Their high-fiving exuberance echoed the ethos of the early sixties. Dropping by to bless the event were Eli Segal, the new president's national service director, and Pennsylvania Senator Harris Wofford, who was present at the creation of the Peace Corps.

So was I. The first public speech I ever gave, 20 double-spaced pages in length, advocated the Peace Corps concept. The occasion was an Ann Arbor meeting of "Americans for World Responsibility," whose student founders were lobbying then-candidate John F. Kennedy to endorse the cause. As students, we wanted to overthrow all forms of bureaucratic paternalism, and break "out of apathy," in the phrase of the time. Moved by the example of southern students who were fighting segregation, we wanted to extend the same spirit to combatting poverty and hunger around the world.

Later, in October 1960, while a hard rain was falling on Ann Arbor, I stood a few feet from Kennedy on the Michigan Union steps as he pledged to create the Peace Corps. We were shocked and elated. The impossible had happened. We couldn't vote, but a presidential candidate had listened to our call. It was a turning point in politicizing the sixties generation.

In the years that followed, service in the Peace Corps had an important influence on those who spent two or more years among the world's poor. Those volunteers returned to the U.S. with a greater sense of social responsibility—and while abroad nursing, teaching, healing, and building, they clearly communicated to others the example of service and caring.

As the Vietnam War expanded, however, the Peace Corps became a target of cynicism among many student activists, myself included. Sending young Americans abroad to serve humanitarian ends while the U.S. government was bombing and invading Vietnam was too great a contradiction. Many Peace Corps volunteers were protesting the war and questioning the often-corrupt regimes of the countries in which they served. We called for Peace Corps service to be considered a form of conscientious objection, so that members could "build, not burn." But to no avail.

Tom Hayden is a senator in the California legislature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During the Nixon years, the Peace Corps continued to wither. Nixon preferred dispatching older volunteers—frequently technical workers—who wouldn't think of protesting at American embassies. With this bureaucratic blow, the Peace Corps never recovered its early thrust. A shell of its former self, the Peace Corps currently sponsors only 6,100 volunteers, down 62 percent from its peak of 16,000.

At home, as ghettos burned, the administration sent domestic VISTA volunteers into cities like Newark as a "respectable" alternative to more insurgent grass-roots community organizations. They served in largely charitable roles under big city mayors; eventually, even the VISTA program disappeared into the woodwork of the status quo.

Out of service

Clinton's idea has clear domestic foundations growing from the past 25 years. The most significant national domestic program was Jimmy Carter's Young Adult Conservation Corps, which spent $900 million on 270,000 participants in the late seventies. The national VISTA program today supports about 3,000 volunteers; its 1990 budget was $25 million. The California Conservation Corps, created by Governor Jerry Brown in 1976, continues to be popular, supporting 2,000 volunteers yearly at an average cost of $16,500 each. In 1990, the federal government passed the National and Community Service Act, creating a commission that awarded grants amounting to $21.5 million in 1992. The commission is up for federal review this year and will probably be an incubator for the Clinton national service projects. In addition, there are mini-programs that mirror Clinton's proposal to pay for college benefits in exchange for community service: The National Health Service Corps, for example, placed 365 medical graduates in underserved areas last year.

This recent generation of service volunteers has accomplished many worthwhile things, from tree planting to tutoring. But such efforts have been inadequate in the face of growing poverty, illiteracy, and pollution.

In contrast, FDR's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)—the grandparent of serious service efforts—achieved monumental results. Attacked at first as a dangerous social(ist) experiment, between 1933 and 1942 the CCC deployed 3 *million* participants. (The Peace Corps, by comparison, has supported only 131,000 in 31 years.) The CCC restored 4 million acres of forests and planted 2.2 billion trees, including 233 million in severely eroded lands. Together with the lasting achievements of the Works Progress Administration, the Roosevelt programs dwarf everything since.

With this in mind, what can we expect of national service in the nineties?

There is a positive idealism today among young people, especially students. Clinton's election powerfully reinforced this sense of hope just as Kennedy's election helped spur the student movements of the early sixties. If Clinton doesn't disappoint, he can repeat the inspirational function of the Kennedy years. Headquartering Eli Segal's team directly in the White House is a welcome sign of commitment. But the idealism of the young is fragile, and the task ahead is truly daunting.

There are troubling questions of cost and scope. In *Mandate for Change*, the Progressive Policy Institute's blueprint which Clinton has endorsed, the national service program projects $2 billion in new college aid to pay for demonstration projects around the country, eventually supporting 200,000 corps members. In March, Clinton announced that he would begin a pilot program to fill 1,000 National Service Corps slots this summer. Those participants will be paid minimum wage for eight weeks of community work and receive a $1,000 stipend toward education or training programs. Clinton hopes to have 100,000 young people in the National Service Corps by 1997, paying for all or part of their education through the service. The details are still being worked out, but there are clues to the ultimate cost. The 1990 National Service Act already authorized $5,000 for vouchers to pay for an undergraduate education at a public university—the *Mandate* proposal calls for $10,000 annually. Why? Spiralling college costs, which have increased faster than income levels for 20 consecutive years.

But if nothing is done to contain college costs, even the $10,000 vouchers will be insufficient to pay the real costs of a degree at most public universities. Tuition and fees alone average over $8,000 per year, and the cost of housing and food are substantial. For example, a four-year degree at a University of California campus (which takes most students five or six years to complete) costs about $12,000 yearly in fees, books, food, and housing. As a general rule, then, two years of national service would pay for only half the cost of the four-year degree. Further, the *Mandate* authors hope the service program will eventually replace existing sources of federal student aid. That would only intensify the present affordability crisis for thousands of students, since the only money available from the government would be insufficient to cover the degree's cost. The numbers just do not add up. Clinton will have to settle for a permanently small pilot program or face much higher budget costs if national service is tied to paying for college.

In the meantime, there is no sign that the Clinton administration is planning to challenge waste in higher education, much less consider cost-containment remedies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But such consideration is absolutely necessary if the service idea is to work. The higher education lobby is very skilled at justifying the allocation of every penny to their present priorities, as if academic freedom—not to mention the national culture—would collapse if government regulators peeked into the ivory tower.

The Stanford University scandal involving the misuse of federal funds, however, has opened the issue on Capitol Hill in recent years. The shocking $2.4 million 1992 retirement package for the outgoing University of California president, which could have paid student aid for 1,200 needy students, angered the public and continues to be a political issue in California. As a result, politicians may finally be willing to look at waste, efficiency, and priorities in higher education.

The administration, in its hunt for dollars to connect service and school, should immediately redirect the $800 million in annual federal work-study money into community services like tutoring. If college students were paid work-study funds for tutoring in public schools, they might discourage potential dropouts from hitting the streets. If professors gave tutors academic credit for the work, college students might be able to get their four-year degrees on schedule. Instead, most of this money presently pays for cheap student labor in places like college cafeterias, not the original intent of work related to study. A timid Congress has required only 5 percent of such money in fiscal year 1994 to go for community service.

Turning green

What should be the mission of national service? Should it focus on domestic issues to the exclusion of international issues? Should environmental restoration be more central than ever before? The focus of *Mandate*, echoed by Clinton, is on a purely domestic national service agenda. (The Peace Corps would continue to operate in its present form.) This is more than a reflection of the president's emphasis on domestic priorities; it's also a budgetary matter. The National Service Corps must provide services more cheaply than the government or the private sector. Otherwise, according to the *Mandate* authors, "there is no basis for it." Nor will it be permitted to compete with union work. Service corps members may well be circumscribed just to those tiers of work that don't conflict with unions, and this is a problem the administration must address.

As Clinton knows, police unions will resist the idea of a Police Corps volunteer taking work from professional officers, and the teachers' unions will balk at a Teacher Corps teacher doing instructional work—even if the service corps member is more energetic, equally competent, and cheaper. Of course, there still will be plenty of opportunities to volunteer in a country whose social services are collapsing: Feeding the homeless or caring for the in-home elderly are examples. Unfortunately, the danger is that national service will be narrowed to do-gooder tasks which do not challenge the public or private organizational status quo. And nothing disillusions a service volunteer faster than make-work.

Limiting service to the domestic arena fits with Clinton's priorities like child immunization programs but retreats from the necessity of renewed international environmental idealism. Since the inception of the Peace Corps, world poverty and pollution have multiplied in countries whose populations have doubled. With the end of the Cold War's strict nation-state rivalries, is it time for a global effort to mobilize young people to meet the environmental crisis? The effort could be like the CCC of the thirties on a global scale: Volunteers could restore rapidly eroding topsoil, clean up polluted streams, and undertake massive tree planting projects. Called an "Earth Corps," it could succeed the Peace Corps as the embodiment of a new generation's greatest challenge. The idea springs from many sources, including top leaders of the 1992 United Nations Earth Summit, environmentalist David Brower, wilderness advocate Sally Ranney, Mexican novelist Homero Aridjis, and Jerry Brown. It has attracted the interest of Al Gore and, reportedly, of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

As an example of what an Earth Corps could do, the Smithsonian's Thomas Lovejoy is promoting the idea of offering graduate scholarships at U.S. universities for students in developing countries who will return home as conservation specialists in tropical forests. Such students would meet a critical need in staffing restoration projects, supporting indigenous community development, and keeping inventories of species threatened with extinction.

The Earth Corps—inspired by and including Clinton's National Service Corps—could be operated in connection with the United Nations Environmental Programme. The money is already in place in the Global Environmental Facility created in 1990 by the major industrial powers to confront global eco-crises. The new environmental undersecretary of State, Timothy Wirth, could be assigned to bridge the American and UN roles.

If Clinton wants to make his mark and seal the affection of the younger generation, he will follow the better instincts of his own youth and build a bold program. If he does, he will invent a new form of government-supported activism and assert American leadership in facing the global ecological crisis. That is what William James must have meant in 1910 when he issued the first call for national service, describing it immodestly as "the moral equivalent of war." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Righting Sentences

Let's get smart about who should—and shouldn't—be in jail

by Stephanie Mencimer

Kenneth McDuff was called "the most extraordinarily violent criminal ever to set foot in Falls County, Texas," by the Falls County district attorney. He was also extraordinarily lucky. After being convicted of brutally murdering two teenage boys and then raping a girl and snapping her neck with a broomstick, he was scheduled to die in the electric chair. But in 1972, when the Supreme Court commuted all death penalty cases to life in prison, McDuff got off death row. And 15 years later, as the war on drugs poured offenders into Texas prisons, he got even luckier.

By 1987, the Texas penal system was so overcrowded that the state started paroling 750 prisoners a week—even though, after a few weeks, they didn't have 750 inmates left who were eligible for parole. So instead of closing the gates, the parole board lowered its standards. So what if every law enforcement officer who had ever encountered McDuff said he had no conscience and would probably kill again? In 1989 Lucky McDuff was sprung on the small Texas community of Rosebud. Three days after his release, the naked, strangled body of 29-year-old Sarafina Parker turned up in a weed patch nearby. After a year-long crime spree and a cameo on "America's Most Wanted," McDuff was finally apprehended once again and charged with three murders. Officials are still investigating six others for which he may be responsible.

Stephanie Mencimer is a Washington writer.

In 1991, around the same time one of McDuff's alleged victims was found floating in a gravel pit in Dallas County, a seemingly unrelated event was unfolding in Washington. The Supreme Court was considering the case of Ronald A. Harmelin, a Michigan man with no criminal record, who'd been pulled over for running a red light and was caught with about a pound and a half of cocaine. Convicted, he was sentenced under Michigan's mandatory sentencing law to life in prison with no chance of parole. The same crime under federal law would have gotten Harmelin 10 years in prison; in Alabama, he would have gotten five. But the high court ruled that the life sentence was not a disproportionate punishment for the crime and let Harmelin's life sentence stand.

Kenneth McDuff and Ronald Harmelin have never met, but in the recent history of American corrections, their lives are tightly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

connected. As more Harmelins overcrowd our prisons, the McDuffs are being set free. One cause of this terrible tradeoff is, simply, a nearly unmanageable rise in crime in recent years. But another cause is the profoundly misplaced priorities that guide the U.S. criminal system.

The United States now incarcerates the largest percentage of its population of any country in the world—nearly a million people—and the public apparently just can't get enough. The Senate crime bill introduced in 1992 had 56 new criminal offenses or penalty increases for violent crimes, drug trafficking, terrorism, and firearm offenses, plus mandatory federal prison sentences for 12 other serious crimes. The longer and stiffer the sentences, the happier we Americans seem to be—at least, perhaps, until now.

California built nine new prisons in the eighties to relieve overcrowding and has plans to build another eight. Planners are already warning that the system will be just as crowded when construction is finished in 1996, with 163,100 inmates crammed into space designed for 74,700. The operation costs of the system are astronomical—$2.1 billion a year and rising, not including the $4 billion in scheduled building costs. Meanwhile, violent crime in the state is steadily increasing.

As politicians legislate tough sentences for every other felony-of-the-week, the California conundrum is quickly moving east. And the result is that, stiff sentences or no, we've begun to let a startling number of criminals get off on relatively easy terms. Because 42 states are currently under court orders to relieve prison overcrowding, very few people actually serve the time required under new sentencing laws.

The good news is that we're finally beginning to realize that prison cells are a scarce resource. The bad news, as the McDuff case amply illustrates, is that we're still confused about how to maximize their efficiency—that is, how to preserve the safety of the community without spending more than we need to spend. That confusion ensures that the folks being let out of prison are often more dangerous than the folks being put in. It doesn't have to be that way. It's a smart move to let some prisoners do their time elsewhere. What's not smart is how we're going about discriminating between the mild-mannered and the McDuffs.

Cruel and usual

Criminal justice experts have long known that certain groups of prisoners consistently make safer bets for parole than others. Women, for example, are good risks, especially since 59 percent of the women jailed today are serving time for nonviolent offenses such as theft, forgery, drug possession and sales, and prostitution. Additionally, 80 percent of women in prison have children, which generally makes them more receptive to rehabilitation than their male counterparts. Despite that, women are now the fastest growing prison population. Why? Because when Congress overhauled the sentencing guidelines to eliminate gender and racial bias in 1986 (and many states followed suit), the number of women in prison skyrocketed 61 percent.

Women aren't the only prisoners who could be safely doing their time elsewhere. Clyde McClellan is a convicted second-degree murderer incarcerated at Washington, D.C.'s maximum security installation in Lorton, Virginia. He is not a charming guy. But McClellan is also half-blind, 74 years old, and has no legs. While most communities would probably risk having McClellan unloosed into the neighborhood, the D.C. parole board won't. It recently rejected McClellan's request to leave prison. Consequently, D.C. taxpayers will continue to pay $30,000 a year to keep a handicapped senior citizen under lock and key.

McClellan is not alone. In Florida, 10 percent of state inmates are over 55. By 2001, the United States will house 125,000 prisoners over the age of 55, at a cost of $4 billion. Why so high? Because the cost of incarcerating elderly prisoners is three times that of younger inmates. Is it worth it? Only 1 percent of inmates released after the age of 55 return to the system within a year, as compared to 20 percent of offenders under the age of 25.

Granted, some of these old guys committed crimes worthy of long sentences—like second degree murder. But surprisingly, murderers are often very good parole risks because their crimes are often committed in the heat of the moment or as crimes of passion and are not likely to be repeated. Case in point: Jean Harris, who murdered her lover, the Scarsdale diet doctor, is not likely to kill anyone else now that she's been freed. So, in even the coldest cost-benefit analysis, taxpayers aren't getting their money's worth with the McClellans. Not every older person should be let out on parole, but many of those 125,000 should be.

So why aren't more nonviolent elderly and female prisoners on parole? The interminable problem with corrections systems is that the public wants its goals to be everything—retribution, punishment, rehabilitation, and public safety. Even though he's not a physical threat to public safety, we want Ivan Boesky to spend some time behind bars because we don't want the rich to be exempt from the punishment poor people are almost always assured; we want the female

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

purse snatcher in jail to teach her a lesson, and so on. Now that we're realizing we've got finite resources, we should be deciding the best way to maximize those resources.

Unfortunately, the system today does a poor job of allowing for these kinds of choices, making it easy for people like 26-year-old Rodney Solomon to come and go through the penal system's revolving door. Solomon made big Washington news recently when he was charged in Howard County, Maryland, with first degree murder for a "carjacking" in which 34-year-old Pamela Basu was killed after being dragged alongside her car for a mile and half. (Solomon stopped briefly to toss Basu's baby daughter out the window.) What should have been equally big news was that Solomon, who had been awaiting trial on heroin and cocaine distribution charges, had just been released from the D.C. jail despite requests from the U.S. attorney's office that Solomon be held without bond based on his record of assaults and robbery dating back to 1983—plus a history of probation violations.

One reason dangerous risks like Solomon get out of jail free is that the D.C. jail is overcrowded with nonviolent offenders, usually young people charged with drug offenses. Mark Cunniff, executive director of the National Association of Criminal Justice Planners, notes that drug offenses (possession, sale, and trafficking) now constitute over a third of felony sentences, which are, in turn, feeding the prison crisis. In 1990, 54.2 percent of the prisoners in federal prisons were serving sentences for drug-related crimes, up from 22.7 percent in 1980. In 1982, Cunniff says 30 percent of all arrested drug traffickers went to prison; the other 70 percent stayed in the community in probation programs. Now it's closer to 50-50. If the trend continues, by 2000, about half of all prison inmates will be drug offenders.

The benefits of all this hard line sentencing are hard to discern. In Delaware, for example, a tough 1989 anti-trafficking law mandates penalties of at least three years in prison with no parole for all convicted traffickers (defined as possessing five to fifteen grams of an illegal substance). By March 1992, arrests for drug possession had increased 59 percent, and 424 people had been convicted and imprisoned under the new law at a cost of $26.6 million. Yet officials discovered that 72 percent of those people had never before been imprisoned for any crime. Delaware officials are now reconsidering the trafficking law because it's bringing too many minor offenders into the already overcrowded prison system without a noticeable impact on the drug supply.

The New York office of the DEA came to a similar conclusion after attempting to combat the crack trade in New York's Washington Heights neighborhood in the eighties. Robert Stutman, former head of the New York office, orchestrated massive raids on what he believed to be the source of the drug problem—yuppies from wealthy suburban neighborhoods driving in for cocaine. After seizing a thousand cars and breaking up a few crack rings, Stutman realized that had made almost no impact whatsoever on the supply of crack in Washington Heights. His conclusion—and this, mind you, came from a DEA official—was that dealers and buyers in the drug trade can never be arrested in sufficient numbers to make a significant dent in the drug trade or related crime.

When a get-tough approach doesn't deter crime, spending billions of dollars to incarcerate people sentenced under get-tough laws doesn't make sense. What does make sense is something penologists have understood for years. A guy who wants to hold up a Hardee's isn't going to be chastened by the fact that the minimum sentence for the crime is seven years instead of three. What really deters crime (besides a healthy economy and plentiful high-wage jobs) is the likelihood of punishment instead of plea bargains or early release because of overcrowding. Unfortunately, our elected officials are content to perpetually pursue "tough on crime" measures which actually diminish the certainty of punishment.

Parole bored

In American minds, prison has become the only response to crime. Here is where liberals eagerly jump in, saying that more criminals should be placed in community-based alternatives to prison. While that makes more sense than building more prisons, we already have a massive community-based penal program. In fact, more than 60 percent of the people under the corrections tent are in it. The program is called probation and parole—and it isn't working much better than the punishment of the iron-bar variety.

About 2.7 million people are on probation and another 500,000 are on parole in the United States right now. These programs, once used to carry out the rehabilitative ideals of the prison reformers of the seventies, changed their focus in the early eighties when the system essentially abandoned rehabilitation in favor of more prison construction. Parole and probation became only supervisory programs, solely devoted to protecting the public from ex-cons.

Even with that minimal agenda, parole and probation programs haven't been funded well enough in most states to keep up with an explosive increase in "clients." According to the National Association of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Criminal Justice Planners, between 1981 and 1987 the number of people paroled jumped 81 percent—a figure that makes the 51 percent increase in the prison population seem almost manageable.

In New York City, the budget crunch has forced the city to cut probation staff and reduce workloads for remaining officers at the same time. To do this, the probation office is abandoning face to face interviews with nonviolent probationers and is focusing on violent criminals. But this is precisely where the system's priorities get confused. There's not a probation officer on earth that can make much of an impact on a truly violent criminal (who probably shouldn't be on probation anyway), but face to face interviews with nonviolent types may be the only chance of saving them.

New York isn't alone in this regard. In California, Proposition 13 cut the probation department's staff in half at the time when about 40,000 people in the state were on probation. By the end of 1990, however, 90,000 people in California were on active probation, yet the department was never restored to its original size. As a result, California probation officers now frequently have more than 200 cases apiece, giving them about 10 minutes a week to work with each person under their supervision.

In order to compensate for the strain on the staff, the state has a rather goofy scheme of monitoring its probationers: It makes them send monthly *postcards* to their probation officers to let them know where they are. ("Dear Officer Bob: Phoenix is great. Wish you were here. Love, Joe.") Not surprisingly, nearly two thirds of probationers in California and in the rest of the country end up back in prison.

That's not to say that liberals aren't right in theory when they argue that community-based corrections should be better used. Run wisely, probation and parole are existing mechanisms that could relieve prison overcrowding and cut recidivism rates. And electronic monitoring, house arrest, or residential drug treatment programs are cheap and effective methods as well.

With a little luck, these alternatives may become more popular if Attorney General Janet Reno carries her approach to Florida's drug problem to the Justice Department. Reno's famed "Drug Court" in Dade County, Florida, allows first time offenders and even non-violent repeat offenders to undergo intensive drug treatment rather than serve jail time. Since 1989, 3,200 people have completed the program, and those who graduate have only a 40 percent recidivism rate, compared to the 65 percent who come out of a regular jail. Not only does the program seem to be effective, it's cheap by penal standards. The "Drug Court" only costs $600 per offender, compared to the $17,000 spent to keep someone in the county lockup.

Meanwhile, the nation's sentencing laws could use a major overhaul, focusing on imprisoning the most dangerous criminals. Save those scarce cells for those young, violent criminals like Henry "Little Man" James, whose regard for human life is evident in the offhand remark he made after killing a woman on the D.C. Beltway: "I felt like bustin' someone." Then, for the smaller fish in the pond, money should be redirected from prison construction to better rehabilitation-oriented corrections, so that fewer of those millions of people on parole and probation become full-time prison residents.

Retooling the system isn't impossible. In fact, there's a tested model in Minnesota. Rather than build more prisons, Minnesota has invested in a network of community-based alternatives that most states still lack. The alternatives emphasize drug rehab and education (the two biggest variables in reducing recidivism), which officials find far easier and cheaper to accomplish in a community setting than in prison. And intelligent sentencing guidelines insure that only the lowest risk offenders have the luxury of participating in these programs. Consequently, one of the workhouses in Hennepin County has become one of the state's largest generators of general educational development (GED) degrees—second only to the Minnesota public school system—graduating between 100 and 150 inmates (out of about 550 in the program) per year. By comparison, in 1991, only 56 inmates in the entire D.C. prison system passed the test.

That doesn't mean that Minnesota is all soft-touch. For the high-risk McDuffs, a belief in certainty of punishment has become one of the state's guiding principles. You may not get a 20-to-life sentence for first-time cocaine possession, but if you're a rapist sentenced to seven years, you'll serve all of them behind bars. The result? Minnesota's closest brush with the prison overcrowding crisis is in newspapers from other states. It now ranks 48th in the country in per capita incarceration rate (78 per 100,000 compared to 320 in California).

Sure, St. Paul isn't East L.A., but the new Congress and administration could do worse than to follow Minnesota's example when it addresses crime, for crime threatens to be one of the biggest policy questions for the next decade as children of baby boomers come into their prime crime-committing years. If the government doesn't act quickly, our outrage at the Willie Horton story may soon seem like a quaint memento of safer times. "Only one Willie Horton in his closet? Maybe Dukakis wasn't so bad after all. . . ." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brother, Can You Spare My BMW?

Some of what's on Clinton's agenda—and a lot of what isn't—is a boon to yuppies

by David Segal

Of the media's many renderings of Bill Clinton, the most interesting is the one that emerged shortly after his State of the Union address: Clinton the class traitor. "Here is the first yuppie president, and he almost immediately turns on his fellow yuppies," moaned *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen. The curious assumption here is that our new president is indeed a yuppie. It's a tougher call than Cohen thinks. Let's examine the evidence:

➤Clinton *is* a yuppie. He jogs; his wife is Hillary Rodham Clinton; he sent Chelsea to a Washington private school without even looking at a public one; his household income while governor was $235,000; he wanted to appoint Zoë Baird; he vacations at Hilton Head; he attended Yale Law School; he likes diversity; he listens to Fleetwood Mac; he was never in the army.

➤Clinton is *not* a yuppie. He eats Big Macs; his mother is Virginia Kelley; he sent Chelsea to a Little Rock public school; his last job paid $35,000; his chief of staff is a man from Arkansas nicknamed Mack; he plays pinochle; he attended Hot Springs High School; he denounced "bean counters" who wanted more women in his cabinet; he listens to Jerry Jeff Walker; he was in Boys' Nation.

At minimum, we've got the makings of an argument here. What's beyond contention is that, unlike members of the Volvo set in his cabinet, Clinton presents a mixed pedigree of yuppie and working stiff, a few parts Hope, a few parts New Haven, equal measures of hardscrabble and suburbia, a little bit country and a little bit rock n' roll. This helps explain how Clinton can convincingly mingle with men in hard hats as well as why, during a speech demanding that the rich pay more taxes, he could seat his wife next to Apple executive John Scully without giving the impression that the man had been lured there so that Hillary could lift his wallet.

The Elvis and the Eli coexist in Clinton. No doubt a leader able to straddle both realms is a good idea and an improvement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over a cosseted patrician whose idea of the common touch is carping about broccoli. But the new president's down-home credentials may have a downside. When Bush tried on a populist pose, it looked as fatuous and uncomfortable on him as a hula skirt. When Clinton is faking it, it's harder to spot.

Four months into his administration we've already gotten a sense of how tricky this can be. Clinton *has* taken some brave stands against a variety of groups (defense contractors and government workers come to mind) just as he has wisely courted a variety of others (Wall Street and Republican leaders, for instance). But Cohen's lament about a yuppie turning against his own occasionally gets it exactly backwards; sometimes Clinton is the middle American selling short middle America. But to understand when his Elvis is an impersonation and his populism a canard, you have to listen to what Clinton *hasn't* said as closely as to what he has.

Lawyers in love

There's been, for instance, nary a mention of two little words that would save us a fortune but tend to provoke knuckle-whitening fear in lawyers: legal reform. Clinton made it clear throughout the campaign that he thought our system wasn't broken, and the Progressive Policy Institute, the think tank created by the Democratic Leadership Council, has published nothing on the subject in any of its 50 policy papers. No one expected Clinton to be a convert to the cause once he got to the White House, but all hope was lost when he named to his cabinet 13 lawyers who never had expressed much disaffection with the status quo.

The presidency is a superb bully pulpit for legal reform, but all signs indicate that for the foreseeable future, we're stuck with what we've got. And what is that? Bottom line, a system that now costs every household in the country upwards of $1,000 a year in liability premiums, a figure that doesn't even account for the untold billions in health care costs incurred when doctors cover their hides with expensive, unnecessary tests to stave off lawsuits. Even for the ostensible winners in this system—the folks who successfully sue—lawyers and administrative fees now devour roughly half of every dollar won.

If any of this fires Clinton's sense of outrage, he might give more than mere lip service to the kinds of out-of-court arbitration which would make trials quicker and cheaper. "In China, if you refuse to settle in arbitration, your punishment is to go to court," says Bill Fry, head of HALT, a non-profit legal reform group. "We simply need more choices for people." Clinton has intimated that he'd back some forms of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), but that's about as courageous as saying you're for efficient government. And a real push for ADR is improbable given the pooh-poohing it routinely gets from some of Clinton's most ardent backers, the trial lawyers' associations.

Lawyers have also managed to dilute efforts by states to set up *genuine* no-fault systems, the kind which would end the staggering pain–and–suffering sums that juries often award to the injured. The interest of plaintiff lawyers is clear enough—they're on commission, so the more staggering, the better. But to the extent that juries simply want to punish the ineptitude of, for instance, doctors or drivers, there should be less costly means at their disposal, like taking away operating licenses. It would also help to put an end to a uniquely American species of legal activity: the extortion suit, filed to scare defendants into coughing up settlements instead of shouldering legal fees. As repugnant as it may sound to a Clintonite's ears, that means plumping for the loser pays rule used in England, an idea championed by Bush and Quayle.

What galls about Clinton's position on tort reform is not just that it's a boon to lawyers at the expense of nearly everyone else, but that it's gussied up as putting people first. Clinton's sole campaign statement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the subject, published in the November 2 issue of the *National Law Journal*, offered this caricature of his opponents' views:

> They want to make it harder to bring powerful offenders to justice. The 'reforms' advanced by Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle are dramatically tilted toward the big polluters, manufacturers and insurance companies, and against consumers and victims.

Some brands of legal reform would, as the president suggests, facilitate corporate chicanery. But others wouldn't, and as a former law professor and attorney general, Clinton must know that court cases are now so drawn out and daunting that most people severely injured by doctors never even bother to sue. According to a recent Harvard Medical Practice study, just one out of seven victims of malpractice actually files a lawsuit. Being concerned about consumers, those injured and those not, compels changing the system.

Of course, being concerned about lawyers—or wanting to carry a little water for them—means keeping the system *in situ* and avoiding the subject of liability costs even when it's obviously relevant. Consider Clinton's February lambasting of the vaccine industry. Touring an Arlington, Virginia, medical center, he accused the pharmaceutical industry of price-gouging: "Over the past 10 years, while the immunization rates have been declining in many important areas, the price of vaccine has risen at six times the rate of inflation." The president failed to mention that the vaccine business is the paradigm of an industry ravaged by liability costs—in fact, a sorry chunk of the price increase Clinton decried is directly attributable to lawsuits.

Not long ago, the U.S. vaccine business was being sued right out of existence: In 1981 there were about 12 vaccine companies; today there are five. As vaccine makers were getting pulverized by settlement costs, Congress intervened in 1986 and established the Vaccine Injury Compensation Fund, a no-fault compensation scheme. This slowed the suits, but parents still have the option of turning down settlements they don't like and taking companies to court. So vaccine companies, all of which have lost their coverage and are now self-insured, are still paying pain-and-suffering damages. Naturally, these costs are passed on to consumers.

In 1982, the full complement of vaccine shots cost doctors roughly $20. Today the shots given to a two-year-old cost about $188. Clinton is right when he says this is an increase six times the rate of inflation, but he didn't mention that the 1992 dose of DTP (diphtheria, tetanus, and pretussis) now sports an $18.24 liability surtax, MMR (mumps, measles, and rubella) a $4.44 per dose tax, and polio an 87 cent tax—all sums that go directly to the government to pay claims. Clinton also forgot to say that two-year-olds now get two more shots than they did ten years ago, one for hepatitis B and one for bacterial meningitis. Subtract the new shots and lop off the liability charges and the right figure for the basket of vaccines these days—the figure Clinton should have brandished at the pharmaceuticals—is about $100. These profits are still greater than the rate of inflation, even counting increased costs for research, but nothing close to what Clinton suggested. Vaccine makers are hardly corporate samaritans, but this assault was a disproportionate use of presidential force.

Vaccine executives are, of course, easy targets ("Gosh, those companies are hurting the *children*!"). Still, this was an odd choice for a little post-election demagoguery. Here, after all, is the kind of high-skilled industry that Clinton and Labor Secretary Robert Reich have identified as the country's best long-term economic hope. And as the first president to contemplate appointing an AIDS czar, you'd think that Clinton would know that a number of companies—among them Oncogen, a subsidiary of Bristol Myers, and Genentech, a San Francisco-based biotech company—have already abandoned promising research for fear of lawsuits.

But it was nothing short of surreal that Clinton could deadpan an attack on vaccine makers without once mentioning the obvious and onerous role that liability has played in the past decade. The clincher came when he compared the high costs of American shots to the cheaper ones in England. For a brief, unwitting moment, he was making the case for tort reform.

Whether Clinton will go as easy on doctors, the other quintessentially yuppie avocation, as he has on lawyers is hard to tell. A heartening signal was sent by the Health Care Task Force's decision to keep all special interests at bay—the American Medical Association included—as they drafted their plan.

But for Clinton to both rein in prices and cover the uncovered, he'll have to address the two-to-one ratio by which specialists now outnumber primary physicians (in Canada the ratio is one-to-one). A system weighted toward pricey surgery rather than preventive medicine is wonderful if you happen to be a pricey surgeon, but it's just pricey if you're not. And today our affinity for specialists could be costing us fully a third of the more than $800 billion we spend annually on health care. To reduce costs, Clinton will have to take on the country's scalpel surplus, which means he'll have to get medical schools to stop churning out specialists at the same time that he controls the incomes of ones already minted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There have been murmurs that the Health Care Task Force *will* encourage medical schools to reroute trainees toward family practice. But even if Hillary and friends threaten to withhold government subsidies, the real difficulty will be undoing med school culture, which now gets matters backwards by making wannabe specialists feel like they are doing the world a favor and primary care aspirants feel like saps. As for doctor incomes, early signs indicate that Clinton may be overly timid. Most of the measures in his budget outline are designed to control the costs of Medicare treatments, and for doctors there is only this modest measure: The fee increases for primary care physicians will go up on schedule, while specialists' fees will face a 2 percent lower rate of increase. In other words, Dr. Family gets a full raise, and Dr. Surgeon gets a partial one. This is not likely to modify career choices, given that in 1990 the average primary physician made $100,000, and the average cardiothoracic surgeon made $259,000.

If Clinton was sincerely outraged by vaccine companies, he should be livid about doctors. In 1986, the average private practice physician was making $131,000; by 1991, that average had climbed to $191,000. That's an increase at roughly twice the cost of living. And the entire pharmaceutical industry eats up just 6 percent of our total health care pie; doctors eat three times that. If Clinton played it by the numbers, guess who's overdue for a tongue-lashing?

Inheritance lax

Then there is Clinton's promise to make the rich "pay their fair share" of the tax increase. The proposed budget does contain some menacing snarls at the upper class, but once again it helps to look at the picture's negative—what isn't there—to spot where Clinton and Co. gave fellow middle-aged professionals a break. Conspicuous in their absence are reforms to curb the mortgage interest-rate deduction, a favorite tax break among thirty- and forty-somethings, many of whom have watched the value of their homes stall or fall and are still paying off mortgages. You can guess that a government of senior citizens would have given this particular money-maker a closer look, since more than half of folks over 65 with mortgages own their homes outright.

More revealing is what wasn't said about estate taxes. On the face of it, they make an attractive revenue generator, since they only hit the wealthy. Moreover, taxes today barely nibble at the vast transfer of riches being handed down from parents who profited from the post-war expansion to their baby-boomer children. That's because in 1981 the law was changed so that a person could pass on the first $600,000 free—twice that for couples. And the government's take of what's left over has been dwindling. This year the top rate dropped from 55 percent to 50 percent and there are loopholes aplenty for anyone still facing a hefty tax liability. "There are so many ways around the estate tax that it's basically voluntary," says Ed Wolfe, an economist at New York University. The concerned parent can put money in life insurance annuities or sock it away in capital gains investments, which magically lose their taxability when bequeathed at death.

The upshot is that the percentage of estates that get taxed *at all* has plummeted since 1981 from 10 percent to 3 percent, and a paltry $12 billion is now annually collected this way—just 6 percent of the roughly $200 billion that is passed on. Meanwhile, the amount of wealth in the over-50 age bracket—the folks profiting most handsomely from Medicare and Social Security, by the way—has shot up. Three decades ago only 10 percent of retirees passed on sizable sums to their heirs; today nearly three times as many do.

Over the past decade and a half, parental largesse in the billions has become the dirty little secret of the yuppie class. But the Clinton crowd won't tattle. The budget proposal offered the meekest of changes: raising the top marginal rate back to last year's 55 percent. That's disappointingly little, and not just because it won't generate real money (just $1.6 billion more in five years). From 1940 to 1976, the highest marginal rate was 77 percent, (a rate that today would raise an additional $3.5 billion *per year*), which gives you an idea of how much of the eighties mentality has become our own and how far we've traveled from our original sense of fairness. Estate taxes have become another piece of Washington furniture that can't be moved, and for near-term, that is what they'll remain.

It's hard to say to what extent Clinton's chumminess with lawyers, gingerness with doctors, and light-handedness with estate laws is evidence of class self-preservation and how much is simply hugging the shores of what is politically possible. But whether it is because they have political clout or because they are simply the people now in power, it's hard to escape the sense that this administration will be asking for some sacrifices by the affluent middle-aged even as it extends them a few less visible but very valuable favors. It seems, for instance, like Clinton's Eli was ascendent over his Elvis when it was decided that our over-stock of specialists need only face a slower raise, just as it was wisely argued that cuts in private sector weapons production should put 1.1 million blue collar types out of work. Entrenched interests of all stripes will have to be taken on for the new president to be effective and fair in reducing the deficit. If Clinton is both yuppie and non-yuppie, he'll have to be willing to betray both classes every now and then. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO'S WHO

Americans may be enamored of **Bill Clinton**, but those who work closest to him, Secret Service agents, aren't. It's not just that agents are bothered by Clinton's tendency to stray from their bubble, but by his quick resort to verbal abuse when minor matters go awry. That shouldn't come as much of a surprise to Clinton campaign observers who witnessed the candidate on several occasions—with microphones open—reprimanding aides over petty mishaps. And, of course, there was that front page *New York Times* photograph of Clinton on a Little Rock golf course berating his young assistant, **Andrew Friendly** . . . .

Since **Susan Thomases**, the Clinton campaign scheduler who continues to wield influence behind-the-scenes at the White House, is considered by many observers to be boastful, vindictive, and politically inept, her recent remark to *The Washington Post*'s **Lloyd Grove** that "**Hillary** and I are a lot alike in a lot of ways" has sent tremors through Washington. One White House aide says his "stomach gets tight" when he sees Thomases coming down the hall. She is said to have been an advocate of **Zoë Baird** and **Kimba Wood**. . . .

Although **Hillary Clinton** is praised around town for the intelligence she is bringing to the health reform effort, heads are shaking about her passionate loyalty to **Thomases**, whom Hillary describes as "a brilliant strategist . . . one of the most creative political thinkers that I personally know . . . a vital, energetic, loving, enthusiastic person who works hard at everything she does, cares deeply about all kinds of issues and people, and is a wonderful friend." According to Secret Service sources of *The Washington Times*, Thomases is the only White House passholder with access to the presidential family quarters. Additional doubts about the First Lady have been aroused by Chelsea's now famous statement to the Sidwell Friends nurse who needed parental permission to give her an aspirin: "Call my dad, my mom's too busy." . . .

How lobbyists curry favor with both parties is illustrated by two members of the Duberstein Group, a Washington lobbying firm. **Michael Berman**, president of the firm, helped prepare **Carol Browner** for hearings on her nomination to head the Environmental Protection Agency. Two years ago, Berman's partner, **Kenneth Duberstein,** helped guide **Clarence Thomas** through hearings on his appointment to the Supreme Court. . . .

Clinton's slowness in filling out his administration was illustrated when, on March 2, we asked a top aide at the Department of Commerce how many Clinton people were on board. His answer: 5. . . .

Career civil servants say the **Clintonites** are more accessible than their predecessors in the **Reagan** and **Bush** administrations. Both **Ron Brown** at Commerce and **Mike Espy** at Agriculture have rescinded rules barring rank-and-file employees from the vicinity of the secretary's office. Unlike his predecessor, **Robert Mosbacher**, Brown does not use a private entrance, and he has taken down the awning Mosbacher had erected so that he wouldn't get wet going from his limousine to his office. . . .

Espy learned of a similar absurdity on a recent airplane trip. According to **John McCaslin** of *The Washington Times*, an aide who was sitting just inches away from Espy handed a report to Espy's chief of staff and asked him to present it to Espy. When Espy expressed curiosity about this bizarre behavior, he was told "we were never allowed to address the secretary directly." . . .

If you wondered how **Ronald Reagan** ever brought himself to abandon his old pal, **Ferdinand Marcos**, the answer appears to be with great difficulty, and only after personal intervention from then Secretary of State **George Shultz.** "The president has been uncomfortable [with me] ever since," Shultz told his aides later. . . .

If you want to be sure you're getting equal protection under the law, cynics say it helps to be rich, especially if you're a Republican fundraiser and there's a Republican administration in power. This seems to be a lesson of the **Wachtler-Silverman** case in New York. When **Joy Silverman,** a rich Republican fundraiser, complained to the FBI that she was being harassed by **Sol Wachtler,** 80 FBI agents were assigned to the case. . . .

Paul Berry has been hired by Global USA Inc., a lobbying firm with major Japanese clients. What makes this interesting is that Berry has no experience as a Washington lobbyist. He is a banker who lives in Little Rock, Arkansas and who plays golf with **Bill Clinton**. Global also signed **Michael Brown**, son of the secretary of Commerce. . . .

Of course, Bill and Hillary are first on the list of power couples, followed by **Bruce** and **Hattie Babbitt**. Candidates for third place include **John Hart**, a White House staffer who handles intergovernmental affairs and **Nancy McFadden**, the right-hand person for Hillary's man at Justice, **Webster Hubbell**. John and Nancy aren't married, but in the nineties, power couples don't have to be. . . .

—*Susan Threadgill*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Out of House, Out of Mind

In opening the federal gates to contractors in the eighties, the government forgot one detail: oversight

by Nancy Watzman

For Science Applications International Corporation, the deal was a sweet one. The Department of Defense had hired the company to evaluate weapons performance. Simultaneously, Science Applications (SAIC) had contracts or subcontracts to help make many of these same weapons, including the Patriot, Stinger, and Harpoon missiles. It was like letting a business school aspirant write her GMATs—and then grade them.

The perversity of this arrangement was not lost on Republican Senator William Roth of Delaware, who said at a June 1989 congressional hearing that the company was "being asked to support testing assessments for [the Strategic Defense Initiative]. At the same time SAIC is the 26th largest SDI contractor. Tell me that is not a conflict of interest." The senator had a point, and the Defense Department knew it. After the hearing, Defense canceled the contract, and the SAIC episode suddenly looked like an example of government actually working.

That impression lasted two years. On December 10, 1991, avid readers of the Federal Register saw an oblique two-page notice from the Department of Energy announcing it was hiring SAIC to evaluate programs even though there was "a potential conflict in that SAIC . . . could [be] reviewing its own work."

How did SAIC end up the sole bidder and winner of another lucrative deal, not to mention another conflict of interest in another agency? A glitch in bureaucratic communications? Sadly, it's more like business as usual in the free-wheeling, double-dealing realm of government contracting, where companies often straddle the public and private sectors to maximize profits from both, and fritter away taxpayers' money on expenses that would give even William Sessions pause.

Nancy Watzman is a Washington writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the past decade, more and more companies have elbowed in on the action as the amount of work farmed out to companies ballooned. Since 1981, for instance, Environmental Protection Agency dollars spent on contractors increased 237 percent. The Department of Energy (DOE), an early Reagan reduction target, lost more than 4,000 employees during the eighties. As of 1990, DOE's contract workers outnumbered staff seven to one.

None of this would be alarming if contractors had some real accountability to taxpayers and refrained from stunts like charging embossed chocolates and rent-a-clowns to the government. Instead, no one effectively oversees contract money, how wisely it is spent, and the value taxpayers get for their dollar. The results have been predictable: waste in Sagan-sized numbers ($35 billion, according to Arkansas Senator David Pryor) and government agencies that contract out so much of their brainpower that they are incapable of doing their own work, let alone supervising it adequately.

No interest in conflicts

For decades, contracting out has been common among agencies trying either to evade personnel ceilings or purchase outside expertise. But the Reagan and Bush administrations, promising victories against red tape and over-centralization, began to push agencies to let the private sector take over government functions. In theory, the idea has merit. It could bring the rules of the marketplace to the federal bureaucracy, breed new efficiency through competition, and allow result-oriented technocrats to deliver quality programs, services, and products.

Meanwhile, Congress continued to pass major new legislation—such as the Clean Air Act and new pesticide laws—that increased agency workloads. The combination of shrinking budgets, increased demands, employment ceilings, and the pressure created by the swelling deficit pressed agencies to turn over a multitude of responsibilities to contractors.

But while more and more work was farmed out, the government actually reduced the number of overseers. The Defense Audit Contract Agency, a division of the Pentagon charged with monitoring 99 percent of all agency contracts, has lost 1,200 of its 7,100 auditors since 1989, and the Bush administration would have cut more had Congress not intervened. With auditors so scarce, it's not shocking that agencies flunked another management task: They let contractors take over core policy work, despite government guidelines against this practice. Contractors drafted congressional testimony for agency higher-ups, ran public hearings, gave policy opinions over government hotline numbers, and even wrote foreign policy papers.

Self-policing by the agencies has been equally anemic. A recent report by the General Accounting Office (GAO) stated that the DOE's Albuquerque field office employed this novel oversight technique: They allowed contractors to make their own determinations on whether they had a conflict-of-interest on a given project. And this is true not just in Albuquerque but in most DOE programs. In 1990, a special DOE panel reviewed contract files to see how well it was looking out for conflicts of interest. Most firms told auditors they had no conflicts. But the companies told a different tale in their pitches to the private sector, where they positively crowed about all the "relevant" work they had done—work that agencies clearly should have explored for conflicts.

With companies eagerly flaunting their government work to clients and with no one to look over their shoulders, conflicts of interest aren't just inevitable, they're advertised. A recent Booz-Allen & Hamilton brochure gloats that "our focus on high technology for government and industry benefits both sectors . . . we offer commercial clients an unparalleled resource to wield technology for competitive advantage." If potential Booz-Allen clients liked the sound of that come-on, the saucier news is that "technical expertise" now includes providing "policy support" to the EPA Superfund program and at the same time helping companies figure out what to do with their toxic waste.

Then there are the horror stories about contractors going to town on the taxpayers' dime. One $1.4 billion contractor under EPA's Superfund program to clean up toxic waste dumps, CH2M Hill, Inc., charged the EPA for reindeer suits, a rent-a-clown, $7,700 worth of liquor, $4,100 worth of tickets to sporting events, and thousands of dollars of chocolates embossed with the company's logo. The Martin Marietta Corporation, hired to help sell government-owned uranium, treated itself to half a million dollars in wine-tasting parties, dinners on chartered boats, golf fees, and other forms of the high life.

Agencies often accept such outrages because years of relying on contractors have made the agencies dependent on them. The EPA, for instance, was barely fazed when Computer Sciences Corporation (CSC), a company that provides computer support for the agency, tinkered with its contract until it was charging another $5.3 million worth of work. An overseeing contract officer simply approved these changes verbally, barely reviewing them first. Firing Computer Sciences (and the overseeing officer) might have been the obvious next move, but not when the company's computers operate everything

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the agency's payroll accounts to databases on toxics. EPA had become so dependent on the company that it has consistently renewed CSC's contracts despite cheaper bids from other companies.

For example, in 1990, CSC won a $347 million EPA contract even though its bid came in $56 million higher than the lowest. The EPA's stated reason for hiring CSC anyway was the "quality of the personnel." Yet nine weeks after the contract was awarded, CSC asked the EPA to waive experience and education requirements for 149 CSC employees and 16 subcontractor employees. The Inspector General's office found $66,000 worth of invoices charging the EPA for less than specialized courses, like WordPerfect classes.

The CSC case illustrates a grand irony of the present system: Privatization was supposed to bring market forces to bear on our portly bureaucracy, but because agencies are often hooked on certain companies, in many instances it's simply led to new monopolies. The EPA is finally cracking down on CSC—but only after intense criticism from its inspector general and a set of embarassing congressional hearings.

One EPA contractor charged for such items as reindeer suits, liquor, tickets to sporting events, and thousands of dollars of chocolates embossed with the company's logo.

There's little mystery about what is needed to treat the multi-faceted ills of contracting. Without rigorous oversight no one should be stunned when contractors emboss chocolates instead of delivering top-notch work. That means agencies must, first, take the competitive bidding process seriously; and, second, make it part of their jobs to leave their offices on a regular basis to get a first-hand gander at what is actually being done, how well, and by whom.

And tougher contracts can go a long way to insure that private companies don't become agency barnacles. There's no reason, for instance, the EPA cannot clearly stipulate that its data-base be kept in a manner that makes it easily transferable, and keep at least the prospect of competition alive. Agencies should also have the good sense to keep essential policy making within its purview. It's imperative that staffs know when they are being conned by the experts.

An agency *can* contract out work without giving itself a lobotomy. Several agencies saved themselves a bundle—and did not compromise their intelligence—back in 1981 when they began to contract out their travel arrangements to travel agencies, work which for nearly a century had been done, expensively and incompetently, by in-house staff. Under the arrangement, the 40 commercial outfits charge nothing for their work and leave bureaucrats with more time for their real jobs. The deal is so sweet that it prompted the GAO to do something it rarely does: Declare a government program a success.

Far more often, however, assessments of contractors are quite the opposite. One of the more recent was lobbed from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), which finally weighed in on the contracting mess in October 1992 recommending reforms as sane as they are overdue. (For example, it urged a policy on how agencies decide who audits what.) In January, incoming OMB director Leon Panetta told the Government Affairs Committee, "the whole contracting out issue scares me in terms of the kinds of operations that go on with people who don't follow up, who don't require certain objectives to be achieved, who don't oversee these contracts when they are implemented."

Congress, meanwhile, had little luck combatting these problems by limiting the amount agencies can spend on contracts. For two consecutive years in the mid-eighties, Pryor amended almost every appropriations bill with a cap on spending for consulting and contracting services. The cap, he later learned, had little effect on agency behavior. That's because spending caps are like employment ceilings: They force the hand of the agencies—but not necessarily to do what makes them more efficient. The problem is not how much is being spent on contracting (remember, done correctly this can save money) but how much is being wasted, and combatting waste takes nothing more elaborate than vigilant management. Scandalously few agencies are monitoring performance and rewarding the good or weeding out the bad.

Bureaucrats of the future are more likely to be managers—overseeing a data inputting contract rather than inputting data. (That's one reason this new bureaucracy could find it easier to attract talented people.) No doubt effecting change on this scale will take some getting used to, and agencies may need a few years before they get the hang of their new roles. But the grace period has gone on long enough. Minus some real change, the trend toward privatization won't have solved the troubles that have long been endemic to the bureaucracy; it will just have relocated the whole problem in the private sector and given it some fancy new names. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEMO OF THE MONTH

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1993

TO MY TREASURY COLLEAGUES:

The time has come to say farewell.

It has been a splendid four years -- a time I shall always cherish.

Together, we have many significant accomplishments that, among other things: resolved the savings and loan crisis, stabilized and strengthened the Nation's financial system, and brought greater integrity to the securities markets; liberated Latin America and former Iron Curtain countries from oppressive debt burdens and helped them toward democracy and a free market economy; substantially assisted the American effort in the Gulf War and the Panamanian action; simplified, modernized and humanized the tax and customs systems; and made major contributions to the War on Drugs and against gang violence, money laundering, and financial crimes. And, of course, there are many other initiatives and accomplishments.

So I depart with a feeling of tremendous personal pride and satisfaction -- and gratitude to all of you who, in many ways, directly and indirectly, large and small, have contributed to our accomplishments and who share with me the sense of privilege, honor and rich tradition in working for the U.S. Treasury Department.

Goodbye. Good luck. Godspeed.

Sincerely,

John Robson

John E. Robson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Sleaze in the Statehouses

Hey Ross: From lobbying to campaign finance, the really toothless laws aren't in the Capitol, they're in the state legislatures

by Scott Greenberger

Inside the fortress nestled in the woods of Fairfax County, Virginia, that is Mobil Oil Corporation's world headquarters, four company officials sat at a conference table and tried to explain what they *didn't* do to kill a clean air bill supported by environmental groups and more than two thirds of Virginia voters.

The measure, slated to take effect in 1997, would have required all new cars sold in Virginia to meet California's tough emission standards—a move that would cost the oil companies billions of dollars. Thus it's reasonable to believe Virginia state Senator Edward M. Holland, the sponsor of the bill, when he says that the industry financed a "carefully coordinated, major lobbying effort" to ensure the bill would fail. But to hear the Mobil execs tell it, that little bill died all by itself:

"There was no advertising campaign," said one, "and our public relations campaign amounted to this: Responding to queries, always being there to talk to whoever asked to talk to us—that's our public relations campaign."

"There really wasn't any grand strategy," said another.

"The enormous campaign that we mounted amounted to Ben and two very bright technicians," added a third.

And so on.

Somebody's lying here. But in Virginia and many other states around the country, even the most intrepid journalist would have a tough time telling you who. That's because, as campaign finance reformers focus on big-business vote buying at the national level, state campaign finance laws make the besieged federal rules look downright draconian.

In Virginia, for instance, campaign finance limits are pretty simple: There are none. There—as in Colorado, Illinois, New Mexico, Idaho, and Oregon—corporations, individuals,

Scott Greenberger is a Washington writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political action committees (PACs), and unions can spend millions buying small-town legislators without even bending the rules. That's precisely what the federal government was trying to prevent when it limited individual campaign contributions to $1,000 and PAC contributions to $5,000 annually.

Of course, most states' laws are subtler than Virginia's; there are a few limits, but with loopholes you could drive a limousine through. Twenty-one states have no cap on the amounts PACs may give; 18 allow unlimited personal contributions. Combine that with reporting requirements for lobbying that demand about as much vigilance as Reagan's oversight of the S&Ls, and you've got a recipe for disaster—or rather, a recipe for just the kind of backroom deal-making that's made so many average Americans feel shut out of the democratic process.

As soul-searching about big-money influence slowly gathers momentum in Congress, state legislators and the corporate powers they serve have been peculiarly insulated from the zeitgeist. That's too bad, since the New Federalism of the Reagan-Bush era greatly increased the influence of state legislators and the interests they serve. And when they exert pressure at the state level, their power is harder to trace and fight.

Pac men

During the past five years, scandals in a passel of state legislatures have provided some racy reading. There was the FBI sting that snared California state Senator Joseph Montoya extorting funds from lobbyists for foreign medical schools. And there were the Arizona legislators whose shenanigans were caught memorably on videotape: Rep. Don Denney stuffing stacks of $100 bills into a gym bag while promising to play "quarterback" for a bill supported by gambling interests.

But in states like Illinois, that kind of criminality doesn't have to happen. That's because, while Arizona has a handful of annoying campaign finance laws, Illinois' affluent interests can boldly buy their votes on the right side of the law. And because they can, they do. Consider the 1992 bill that lifted the cap off what local telephone companies could charge customers. Illinois Bell, which stood to make hundreds of millions of dollars if the measure passed, spent at least *$1.9 million* in campaign contributions and lobbying costs.

Thanks to post-Watergate reforms, such blatant vote-buying could get you jail time at the federal level. But only 20 states have similar strictures. And while the federal government outlawed direct contributions from unions more than 40 years ago, a mere nine states prohibit union donations. Not that the federal laws are particularly tough—corporations and unions may establish their own PACs with donations from executives or workers and can contribute unlimited amounts of "soft money" through party political organizations—but at least those contributions are on the books.

What happens when there are no books is utterly predictable. Affluent, usually corporate, interests tend to dominate the political process. In Richmond, Virginia, it's only fitting that the concrete and glass towers emblazoned with the logos of Ma Bell and Crestar Bank seem to dwarf the state capitol. Public interest waxes and wanes, news coverage of legislative issues is spotty—but business, politicians know, is a pretty steady date. That fact surely wasn't lost on Democratic state Senator Jackson Reasor when Governor Douglas Wilder's clean air bill came to his transportation committee. Faced with a close vote, Reasor broke party lines and voted against the bill after receiving $14,708 in campaign funds from the oil interests—more than any other single committee member. Fatal move? Not likely. Few Virginia voters know his name, let alone follow the intricacies of committee politicking, although they may be breathing the fumes of his pivotal choice for decades.

The difficulty of making the public see and understand the insidious nature of individual money-politics transactions necessitates clearly defined, across-the-board laws. But when public interest types start pushing their reform bills, they usually find the lawmakers scrambling to get in line with the corporate lobbyists.

That's hardly surprising, because advocates for state-level campaign finance reform usually consist of a few true believers with an annual lobbying budget that's less than what the average oil company spends on a month of lunches. "This is Common Cause and Jim's Electronics," drawls that organization's South Dakota headquarters—a message not likely to breathe fear into the soul of a money-gorged pol. And fear of grassroots wrath is exactly what's necessary to overcome politicians' natural inclination toward lax campaign finance laws.

This makes the press essential in exposing unsavory money-politics connections at the state level. When a utility or an oil company attempts to buy votes, and when politicians accede to their intentions, the message isn't just that the corporations are blackhearted vote buyers—it's that *the system* encourages them to do it.

Caps on contributions that at least match the stringency of those at the federal level are a necessary first step to campaign finance reform, leveling the playing field for the less affluent. Or at least they will if they aren't set, as Nevada's are, so absurdly high—$20,000 per group per election cycle—as to make them irrelevant. (Surely Nevada politicians come

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cheaper than that.) Yet as other states turn to less superficial reform models for help—we recommend Alabama with its $500 cap—it's worth remembering that without adequate public disclosure of contributions and lobbying efforts, "reform" may be just as ineffectual as anarchy.

Consider Virginia again, where contributions under $100 don't have to be reported at all. A favorite trick of local businessmen is to get family members and employees to donate $99 apiece. The $100 reporting requirement makes sense; what's needed, however, is a mechanism to allow the under-$100 donations to be traced—a regulation that would scare off potential abuse of the system.

Still, campaign contribution disclosure laws are water-tight compared to those that govern the reporting of lobbying. Although nearly all states require lobbyists to keep some sort of record of what they spent—and who they courted—on what issue, those laws vary widely on what constitutes lobbying and how much must be disclosed. Many states' definition of lobbying is so vague that lobbyists can include just as much information on their disclosure forms as they please. In Virginia, lobbying disclosure forms include sections on research, dinners with legislators and their staff, and other lobbying activities, but it is up to the lobbyists themselves to determine whether a particular activity "influences . . . a member of the General Assembly" to their clients' advantage.

Until 1993, Virginia's lobbying law had an even greater flaw: It only covered lobbying that went on between November 15 and the end of the legislative session in March, completely ignoring seven and a half months of activity. A reform passed this year eliminates this restriction in Virginia's law, but unfortunately, similar loopholes are common in many other states' regulations. In New Mexico, for instance, the legislature meets for only 30 days on even-numbered years and 60 on odd. Any lobbying of committees that takes place between sessions—when most key bills are, of course, being hammered out—needn't be reported. And up in Indiana, a lobbyist can throw a party or fund a trip for one legislator or, heck, the *entire* general assembly, and it's all off the books.

Georgia on my payroll

One result of so much recent state-level chicanery is that reform-minded states now have models like New Jersey to emulate. There, in a state notorious for its political corruption, a lobbyist for one of the state's best-funded political action committees, Lawyers Encouraging Government and Law, blew the whistle a few years back on four assemblymen who told her that unless her organization contributed $20,000 to a Democratic joint campaign fund, bills important to the group would not be "posted" in the upcoming legislative session.

In the wake of her allegations, chronicled in *The Bergen Record*, the state revamped its lobbying disclosure laws into some of the toughest in the nation. It has eliminated a loophole that limited reporting of lobbying to contacts with legislators in which a specific bill was "expressly" discussed. And it extended disclosure laws to cover contacts with staff members of legislators and lobbying of the executive branch. To give those laws teeth, New Jersey created an independent agency that analyzes campaign finance and lobbying data, investigates abuses, and punishes offenders with stiff fines.

While each state's situation is distinct, most experts agree that there are principles that will help keep the system honest and prevent the big guys from exerting an overpowering influence on state legislatures, such as a well-funded, bipartisan ethics commission to watch over the pols and their friends. Ideally, such commissions would have the power to initiate investigations, punish law breakers with hefty fines, and perhaps make summaries of their findings easily accessible to the public.

Of course, in most states, campaign reform isn't exactly at the top of the agenda, or even—sad to say—on it at all. Unless the case involves outright extortion à la New Jersey, mustering the force for ethics reform is difficult. But especially if the press is willing to commit the time and resources to follow the trail, it's not impossible. Often a few slimy deals, taken together and clearly presented, can trigger the good old-fashioned public irritation that can make the difference between a vacuum and real reform. You can ask Georgia House Speaker Tom Murphy about that.

Murphy, a rural Democrat, took an infamous 1987 holiday to Fort Lauderdale with lobbyists representing a front for BCCI. The bank wanted a law to allow it to do business in the state; after the boisterous three-day, $15,000 trip, the bank got its go-ahead. A few years later, the BCCI investigation unearthed the trip just as ethics advocates were preparing new reform legislation. Suddenly, Murphy became the reformists' symbol of the old era: What he did was legal, but it didn't smell right—and nobody had had to report it under the old system. The reform laws passed over Murphy's opposition.

Reforms like Georgia's won't guarantee there will be no more Murphys—or God knows, no more Mobils willing to spend enough money to drown out the public will. But after the next clean air bill quietly dies inside some statehouse anteroom, the public will be able to march in, count up the money, and know who killed it. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What the Religious Right Can Teach the New Democrats

Extremists aside, America's evangelicals have a message we all need to hear

by Jon Meacham

Sneering at the Religious Right of his day—Tennessee Holy Rollers who campaigned to ban the teaching of evolution in the 1920s—H. L. Mencken famously called evangelical Christianity "a childish theology" "founded upon hate" for "half-wits," "morons," "rustic ignoramuses," and "yokels from the hills." And that was just for starters.

In March, when Michael Frederick Griffin, a pro-life activist, murdered a physician behind a Florida abortion clinic—try to reconstruct the logic of *that*—he could have walked straight out of Mencken's acidic dispatches from the Scopes Trial. A barbaric act, informed by twisted religious fervor: Griffin is the stereotypical Religious Right adherent brought to life. I happened to grow up near the Tennessee hills that Mencken skewered, but I'm neither an evangelical nor a fundamentalist; at best, I'm a desultory Episcopalian. And although I'm quick to roll my eyes at Tammy Faye Bakker and would never vote for Pat Robertson, the evangelicals I knew—Southern Baptists, Presbyterians, a few Roman Catholics—weren't exotic yokels or extremists. They were ordinary people, no different from anybody else—except when religion came up.

In those moments, evangelicals would show their colors and speak quite seriously of how they enjoyed "a personal relationship with Jesus Christ." And if politics came up, they were generally, but not fanatically, Republican. There was nothing crazy about these people, nothing that suggested apocalyptic inclinations or theocratic ambitions. If anything, they were annoyingly *nice*, not threatening.

But the mainstream has so thoroughly accepted the Menckenite version of conservative Christianity that the Griffins of the world are taken to be the rule, not the exception. It's a caricature that's alive and flourishing even outside the usual liberal op-ed suspects: After all, it's not news when Anthony Lewis snipes at the Religious Right. These days,

Research assistance for this article was provided by Mike Bach.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the caricature is more widespread than that. In a *Washington Post* news story about evangelical opposition to President Clinton's lifting the ban on gays in the military, reporter Michael Weisskopf tossed off an unattributed generalization that had none of Mencken's flair but all of his prejudice: He called followers of Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and Co. "poor, uneducated, and easy to command."

When asked about his source, Weisskopf explained that though he had talked with several experts about the Religious Right, "I try not to have to attribute every point in the story if it appears to be universally accepted. You don't have to say, 'It's hot out, according to the weatherman.'" The assumption is that you no more need an authority to tell you the Religious Right is witless than you need a weatherman to tell you a hot day is hot. Everyone, Weisskopf implies, knows these folks dwell at the bottom of the social and political food chains.

Such dismissive cultural assumptions, ill-founded and blithely propagated, are keeping liberals, moderates, and even conservatives from realizing what the millions-strong movement is actually right about. Look past the obsession with homosexuals and abortion—what we might call pelvic sins—and there's a fairly sensible cultural vision and a not unreasonable policy agenda that's as neoliberal as it is fundamentalist.

Take crime, for example. Noting the back-breaking costs of large prisons, the National Association of Evangelicals suggests punishing nonviolent offenders through community service and restitution—an idea rooted in biblical law and neoliberal gospel. Democrats like Clinton and Sam Nunn have been working on this for years. In Georgia, first-time, nonviolent drug offenders are sent to boot camps for structured rehabilitation, an approach Clinton wants to make national. It's hard to argue, believer or atheist, that calisthenics, strict discipline, and stern sermons cloaked in the vocabulary of "self-esteem" wouldn't do malefactors some good.

Where the Religious Right is really right, however, is on family issues. Discourage teen pregnancy, welfare dependency, and divorce? Force deadbeat dads to pay up? Make schools instill values? Encourage community service? These are Religious Right favorites—old-time moral causes that are now *progressive* causes.

Clinton and Al Gore, two Southern Baptists, campaigned as traditionalists. William Galston, who is now deputy assistant to the president for domestic policy, defined traditionalism this way in 1991: "We cannot be indifferent to fundamental (and decidable) questions of right and wrong, and we violate no one's rights by putting public authority in the service of what is right." So, if the New Democrats have already picked up on these themes, why should anyone care about the Religious Right? Because the Right is far more comfortable with the conversation about families, hard work, and responsibility than the Democrats are. And where the Religious Right has the right ideas, the neoliberals have the right plan. Pursuing those plans in the face of an establishment with Mencken's reservations about religion will be difficult. Whenever the president feels reluctant to do moral battle, he ought to draw on both gospels—political and evangelical.

Take a right

There's a world of cultural baggage to conquer first. For years, the establishment has feared the Religious Right. The most recent terror began with the Moral Majority's rise with Reagan in 1980—a phenomenon that led the National Abortion Rights Action League

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(NARAL) to declare that the movement had the "potential for [the] destruction of our political, religious, and legal institutions."

Here's a sketch of the people everybody's so hot about. Evangelicals—about 35 million Americans—believe that they have a personal, immediate relationship with Jesus Christ; that the Bible is the strict word of God; and that they have an obligation to share the "good news" of the gospel.

Across the board, 38 percent of Americans say they are born again or evangelical Christians, and 87 percent say religion is either very important or fairly important in their lives, according to Gallup Religious Research. The values that the Right holds dear—patriotism, integrity, traditional definitions of familial and sexual roles—are essentially the mainstream values of the thirties and forties and fifties. They're the values that won World War II. The worst that can be said of the Religious Right is that it's dramatically out of step—not out of its mind.

In this sense, the Religious Right does not include the snakehandlers of southern Appalachia or truly extreme figures like David Koresh, the Waco, Texas, cult leader—the "Wacko of Waco," as he's come to be called. It is, instead, made up of those evangelicals who take anti-abortion, anti-homosexual, and anti-feminist positions on political questions. Not all are Protestants, of course: Some Catholics, most notably Patrick Buchanan, are allies. There are five million Religious Right activists: people who campaign, donate money, contact public officials, or attend political meetings. And while these activists are slightly less well-educated and well-off than non-evangelical political activists—a group that could include NARAL activists, for instance—the differences are hardly of, well, biblical proportions.

According to a 1992 University of Akron Survey Research Center poll, 17 percent of Christian activists had postgraduate degrees, compared to 15 percent for non-evangelical activists. While that's probably due to the number of ministers in the Religious Right's ranks, a more realistic picture emerges from other statistics. Nineteen percent of the Religious Right's activists are college graduates, compared to 24 percent of non-evangelical activists. And while 30 percent of non-evangelical activists didn't go beyond high school, 39 percent of Religious Right activists didn't make it that far. But "uneducated"? Doesn't look like it.

Financially, it's hard to say which of the activist camps does better. More non-evangelical activists than Religious Right activists are on the poorest end of the scale, making less than $25,000 a year. The Religious Right also leads in the $25,000 to $50,000 range. Then, in the $50,000 to $75,000 range, it's a dead heat, 21 percent to 21 percent. Over $75,000, non-evangelical activists have an edge, 14 percent to 11 percent. Because the Religious Right draws a majority of its activists from the South—fully 53 percent—even the differences are understandable. "Although it's changing, the South is a region with traditionally lower levels of income and education anyway," says Lyman Kellstedt, a director of the Akron survey and a political scientist at Wheaton College. "That accounts for some of the disparity, because the non-evangelical activists are evenly dispersed geographically."

Until about 1968, conservative Christians, assuming the world to be beyond temporal redemption, kept religious crusading and politics separate. In 1965, an obscure Baptist minister named Jerry Falwell said, "Believing in the Bible as I do, I would find it impossible to stop preaching the pure saving Gospel of Jesus Christ, and begin doing anything else—including fighting communism . . . Preachers are not called to be politicians but to be soul winners." Spurred on by the social chaos of the late sixties, the old notion that a Christian's duty was to the private sphere of family and church—not to the public sphere of politics and government—broke down. A similar sense of disorder from that era, incidentally, would turn some Democrats into Republicans and some liberals into neoliberals.

It didn't take long for the Religious Right's Holy Roller rhetoric to frighten those who professed to protect Jefferson's much-vaunted (and vaulted) "wall of separation between church and state." Says Robert Maddox, a Carter White House religious liaison and speechwriter who is also a former head of Americans United for the Separation of Church and State: "Robertson, Falwell, and the other key players—including people you don't hear about—are angry and feel threatened by the culture. With them, there's no gray area, no toleration, and I find that very dangerous. I don't know that I could stay in the same room with most of them." That's true of many people, and it underscores the cultural divide between the unctuous preachers and the broad middle.

Bullying pulpit

Disappointed by the end of the Reagan-Bush dynasty and by the apparent invulnerability of abortion rights, the Religious Right has turned to what it calls "pro-family" issues. That shift in emphasis reassures none of the movement's old foes. "The Religious Right of the nineties is much stronger, more sophisticated, and will, as a result, probably be much more successful in its lobbying," says Arthur Kropp, executive director of People for the American Way. "The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement builds itself by dividing America. I think that's poisonous: The way they play the game is damaging, and their agenda is threatening." Robert Peck of the American Civil Liberties Union hastens to defend the movement's right to participate, then homes in: "We think that much of their agenda is out of step with traditional American principles and liberties, and we feel an obligation to oppose them when they try to trample on those things."

Even Clinton worries about protecting his liberal credentials. He did hold one meeting with ministers in Little Rock during the transition, and Billy Graham gave the benediction at the inauguration. But when the five-million-member National Association of Evangelicals, as moderate a part of the Religious Right as there is, invited Clinton to speak to its national convention in March, the president didn't acknowledge the invitation. "I think those extreme forces on the Religious Right are going to find themselves irrelevant," the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis, vice president of the National Council of Churches and a Clinton transition team member, told *The Los Angeles Times*. "It's not because anyone is shutting the door in their face, but because their ideology increasingly does not apply to the American condition."

"The Right does raise issues and forces us to talk about things we might otherwise not talk about," says Robert Maddox, a former Carter aide. "They do serve a purpose, however heavy-handed and occasionally unpleasant: They're kind of like castor oil."

But on family policy, can you tell the difference between what Marshall Wittmann, legislative director of the conservative Christian Coalition, says and what William Galston and Elaine Kamarck wrote in *Mandate for Change*, the Clinton policy blueprint?

"We want public policy in this country that is pro-family," says Wittmann. "Our concerns are the kitchen table concerns: things like tax relief for families with kids, education, discouraging pornography and violence and sex in the culture." Galston and Kamarck's lesson could come straight from a pulpit: "America's children are in trouble, and their troubles are rooted in both economic stress and family disintegration . . . epidemics of divorce, out-of-wedlock births, and family dysfunction have deprived too many children of vital relationships with adults."

While the Religious Right's jeremiads about family breakdown are usually dismissed out of hand, Galston and Kamarck offer a hard-hitting plan that makes "the family that prays together stays together" look limp-wristed. By definition, divorce destroys families, a point made in sermons stretching back to the one on the Mount. So wouldn't it make sense to make divorce for couples with children more difficult? The Galston/Kamarck plan would impose a nine-month cooling-off period between filing and going to court, giving parents the chance to ponder the implications of breaking up a household.

The plan, similar to one proposed by Britain's Law Commission, is on target: Since 1960, the U.S. divorce rate—the highest in the world—has increased 250 percent. "Unless you're in a radical state of denial, you simply have to acknowledge that kids raised where the marriage is intact grow up more confident, happier, and more stable," says James Davison Hunter, a University of Virginia sociologist. According to the Census Bureau, the gross income of a child and the custodial parent drops 37 percent immediately after a divorce and rises only slightly 16 months later. To press for something as sweeping as divorce reform would require a revival not unlike the Great Awakening, and the Democrats, outside that one chapter in *Mandate*, have been silent about it. That's no surprise: Restricting divorce is restricting, from the left's point of view, an exercise of liberty. It's hard to imagine what, outside of a pro-life button, could be less fashionable among the professional baby boomer set.

In areas like family or divorce policy, the Religious Right helps bring the moral element of a problem into focus. Its agitation forces politicians of the left and the right to address concerns—however large, however uncomfortable—that traditional liberals think too intrusive. When liberals read the gloomy statistics and wonder why everything's falling apart, they don't make the obvious connection. "The Right does raise issues and forces us to talk about things we might otherwise not talk about," says Maddox, the former Carter aide. "They do serve a purpose, however heavy-handed and occasionally unpleasant: They're kind of like castor oil."

There are other potential points of contact. William Bennett, a conservative Republican, spoke out at the GOP convention against "rampant promiscuity." The Progressive Policy Institute, speaking through Galston and Kamarck, says, "The president should use the full force of his office to wage an all-out campaign against teenage pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births." A good way to do that is to speak out against "rampant promiscuity,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is not a little relevant to the pregnancy rate. In 1989, a quarter of all infants in the United States were born out of wedlock. And while 60 percent of black babies were illegitimate, illegitimacy is rising fastest among white children. Teenage girls give birth to 500,000 babies a year, and those infants are four times as likely as children in other families to be poor.

Traditional liberals are caught in a curious irony on this. While they are terribly reluctant to condemn promiscuity for fear of appearing intolerant, they are equally reluctant to link personal behavior (promiscuity) and social ills (poverty, dropout rates, welfare dependency). At the same time, these reluctant liberals aren't encouraging their own children to act irresponsibly, and it's cynical not to discourage dangerous behavior in others.

As Mickey Kaus noted recently in *The New Republic*, Marian Wright Edelman, a Clinton intimate and president of the Children's Defense Fund, has cried out against "our obsession with the motivation and behavior of the poor—their sexual as well as their work behavior." That's precisely where part of the problem lies, though. Sexual and work behavior—euphemisms for producing out-of-wedlock children and going on the dole instead of working—is what the Religious Right speaks to. Now, it's the president's turn.

"People really do embrace traditional values," says William Galston, a Clinton domestic policy adviser, "but people are very, very wary of using the state apparatus to enforce those values. Both parties would do well to attend to that center of gravity."

Of course, much of the Religious Right's rhetoric can be simplistic and unrealistic. Its fascination with sex moves many of us in the middle to angry distraction and repels people like Edelman from hearing it out. "I have always believed that the center of gravity in American opinion is tolerant traditionalism," says Galston. "People really do embrace traditional values, but people are very, very wary of using the state apparatus to enforce those values. Both parties would do well to attend to that center of gravity."

One way to do that is to promote values-based education in public schools. The phrase terrifies liberals who fear responsive readings from the Psalter and endless kindergarten Passion plays. But the National Commission on Children, Senator Jay Rockefeller's bipartisan panel that included Clinton and every ideological type from evangelicals to Edelman, recommends promoting community service as a value. Maryland now requires 75 hours of such service to graduate from high school. That speaks powerfully to ancient religious concerns: It's as close as we will ever get to codifying the Golden Rule. Writing about teenagers—the kids who could, alternatively, be out conceiving illegitimate children—Rockefeller's commission says: "They can staff soup kitchens, tutor their peers and younger children, visit shut-ins and the elderly, and improve their neighborhoods through construction and cleanup projects."

These are not ill-placed priorities: 61 percent of high school students confess to cheating on tests; assaults on teachers are up 700 percent since 1978; each month, 282,000 students are attacked in schools. Teaching values as broadly defined as not beating up your teacher seems to be in order. Civility and responsibility are consummately religious values. So are "compassion" and "truth," two of the values that a community council in Baltimore County, using the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, decided were nonsectarian and worthy of teaching. These aren't new ideas: St. Augustine had a good bit to say about charity and conduct; even a pagan like Aristotle meditated on the tension between rights and responsibilities.

Out in Colorado Springs, where Dr. James Dobson's vast Focus on the Family Christian organization is headquartered, 500 staffers field 200,000 calls a month from people bewildered by the brutal business of modernity. Mothers call for childrearing tips, others for a dissection of Clinton's tax plan. They worry about violence, about drugs, about what's on television, and they turn to the religious outfit for guidance. I personally wouldn't telephone a "Christian ministry" founded on inspirational videotapes, direct mail, and Bible radio shows; most in the middle probably wouldn't, either. What brings others to do it is the same impulse that holds together inner-city churches, or Girls and Boys Clubs, or midnight basketball leagues: the impulse for community in a broken world. "We have our hands full with the problems of hurt and pain that are being heaped on the family by the culture and by the economy," says Rob Gregory, a Focus on the Family spokesman. They are words that could echo across the worst city street.

Rockefeller's commission confronted an uncomfortable truth that neoliberals and conservative Christians acknowledged long ago: "Today, too many young people seem adrift, without a steady moral compass to direct their daily behavior or to plot a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Promises, Promises...

The Washington Monthly promises to show President Clinton—and you—how he can keep his promises.

While the rest of the media is busy telling you what's wrong with the new presidency, The Washington Monthly is offering ground-breaking, practical **solutions** to problems Clinton **promised** to solve during the campaign, such as:

- integrating gays in the military.
- adopting a health care system that works for everyone.
- cutting the deficit fairly and reasonably.
- reforming the legal system.
- keeping university costs down by cutting bureaucrats instead of shutting out students.

". . . must reading in the White House, on Capitol Hill, and elsewhere in the government."

–Time

For those citizens hoping to change Washington, "Editor Charles Peters can point the way."

–Sam Donaldson

SUBSCRIBE NOW AND SAVE!

☐ YES! Enter my subscription for a full year (10 issues) to *The Washington Monthly* for only $26.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

Charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Credit card # _____ Exp. _____

The Washington Monthly
Box 587
Mount Morris, IL 61054

For Canadian and other foreign subscriptions add $7. Please remit U.S. funds. A3401

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thoughtful and responsible course for their lives." Speaking to that requires encouraging neoliberal favorites like community service and values education, and institutions like the draft and public schools to foster democratic instincts. These are practical matters that significantly overlap with the Religious Right's agenda, which is focused, too, on renewing a world where people appreciate and care for one another. "Evangelicals are not retreating from society," says Allan Carlson, president of the conservative Rockford Institute in Illinois. "We are trying to rebuild a sense of community block by block."

There are unhappy signs that the Democratic family revival won't come off: Already, Donna Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, has downplayed the work component of welfare reform. In 1991, as a gesture toward the Right's views, Rockefeller's commission called for funding abstinence-based sex education equally with teenage family planning (birth control); neither the Bush administration, nor the Congress, nor the Clinton administration responded. Thus far, there have been few wise words from the White House about responsibility and personal conduct—too few.

Praying for keeps

The culture wars between the left and the Religious Right sometimes have all the sophistication of a backyard dogfight. On public property in California, for example, the evergreens draped with colored lights and tinsel during December aren't "Christmas trees" anymore. Instead, they're called "community trees" or "city holiday trees" to avoid religious conflicts. In New York, a Queens school district provoked the latest fracas in the most enduring Religious Right cause: school prayer. The district's school board voted in a "moment of reflection" to let students, in the words of the school superintendent, "focus their thoughts, calm down, and get ready for the day's learning activities." Nevertheless, the New York Civil Liberties Union and other organizations are squawking about the move.

Part of the cultural opposition to school prayer is based in liberal snobbery: Only reactionaries trapped by naive allegiance to religion, an old liberal argument goes, would really care about school prayer. Nobody ought to seriously suggest kicking off a public school day with the Lord's Prayer—the courts have clearly held that to be unconstitutional. By the same token, there's nothing wrong with asking children to observe a moment of silence. In 26 states, there are laws on the books that would permit the ritual. A kid can worry about a baseball game or the Pauline accounts of the Resurrection—either way, the choice is the child's. The Religious Right would be pacified, and the establishment, by conceding a nonsectarian moment of silence, would demonstrate that it shares the same values and concerns. A moment of silence has never kept a family together or taught a kid to read, but resolving this would give us an idea of how to find common ground between the Religious Right, the left, and the broad middle.

There is a very great difference between the jingoism of the Religious Right and the tolerant traditionalism that most of us intuitively accept. Some conservatives are slowly recognizing that: "The Religious Right does have to learn to be more tolerant in their public rhetoric, and there's a theological reason for that," says Michael Cromartie, director of the Evangelical Studies Project at the Ethics and Public Policy Center. "Religious conservatives understand their own essential brokenness; they should understand that everybody is fallen."

So when Pat Robertson next suggests that Clinton has "a radical plan to destroy the traditional family," get angry, roll your eyes, fulminate. That's reasonable, because Robertson's dead wrong. But remember to pause when Robertson or someone of his ilk suggests something quaint about keeping families together or minding one's manners. Pause, because from preachers *and* from presidents, those are words many people need to hear. □

Just Released

The Washington Monthly Classifieds

Standard (15 word minimum)
1-2 issues $1.25/word
3-5 issues $1.10/word
6-8 issues $1.00/word
9+ issues $ .75/word

Display rates (per inch)
$50.00/inch 1-2 issues
$48.00/inch 3-5 issues
$45.00/inch 6-8 issues
$40.00/inch 9+ issues

Classified Ads must be prepaid. Mail copy, camera ready art (display only: $20.00 additional if not supplied), and check to :

The *Monthly* Classifieds
1611 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Enclosed is my check for $____ for ____Month(s)
Advertiser _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TIDBITS & OUTRAGES

"ALL THIS AND NOW A TAX INCREASE TOO—SOMETIMES I DON'T THINK WE'LL MAKE IT."
In an interview with *The New York Times,* Pat Buckley, the wife of William F. Buckley Jr., told of the difficulties the couple experienced on a recent trip to Switzerland with their three pet Cavalier King Charles Spaniels because of a Swissair rule that allows only one dog in each section of a plane. "It drives me crazy," Mrs. Buckley said on the phone from Gstaad. "I travel in first, Bill travels in second and my maid travels in tourist. Halfway through the trip, we all change places."

VINTAGE SNOBBERY
The Stanford Alumni Association is currently raising money by selling $140–$200 bottles of wine picked by "twenty-two wine experts gathered at the Stanford Faculty Club."

AND THE WHISTLEBLOWER'S HOTLINE RANG IN A DENTIST'S OFFICE IN NEWARK
When the city of Los Angeles set up a hotline for citizens requesting pothole repairs, it publicized the wrong number, producing hundreds of calls to a used auto parts store in Arizona.

"AND NOW TO TITO FOR THE WEATHER . . ."
Last February 10, Los Angeles television station KABC-TV devoted the entire news segment of its 11 P.M. newscast to ABC's broadcast that evening of Oprah Winfrey's interview of Michael Jackson.

AND FOR OUR STORY ON MALNUTRITION IN AMERICA, SEE PAGE D20.
The New York Times recently ran a 31-column-inch story covering a mid-town Manhattan shopping trip made by Connie Chung and Maury Povich in their chauffeur-driven limousine. The piece described the couple's purchases of pants, polo shirts, a blouse, a can opener, a julienne blade for a food processor, candleholders, and French cookbooks. It reported that "Mr. Povich knows his wife likes his jeans tight because, he says, she likes to 'watch my tush.'"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON POLITICAL BOOKS

All About Bob

Why Robert McNamara shares the blame for just about everything

by John Ralston Saul

Promise and Power: The Life and Times of Robert McNamara
Deborah Shapley
Little, Brown, $29.95

The arrival of the first comprehensive biography of Robert McNamara might have been expected to create a storm. Instead, there have been serious, almost specialist, reviews and public indifference. It is as if his name were part of a distasteful past.

But the effects of McNamara's actions and his methods are far from past. They are central to the crises which the Clinton administration and other Western countries are struggling to deal with today. It could be said, only half in jest, that McNamara is responsible for four of the six major post-war catastrophes—the nuclear arms race, the addiction of the civil economy to a gigantic conventional arms market, the dragged out Vietnam debacle, and the Third World debt crisis. The two remaining disasters—monetary disorder and the oil crisis—can probably be assigned to Nixon and Kissinger.

Deborah Shapley hasn't addressed her subject on that level. Perhaps this is because she let herself get caught in the classic conundrum of the biographer dealing with a living person. She came to know her subject personally. He granted a long series of on and off the record interviews and revealed himself more than he has ever done before. The point is not that she was seduced by his point of view; she wasn't. But she has confused his actions in power with his tendency to cry, his love for his wife, and his distant relationship with his son. Biography is a very flawed medium for examining public policy. Great biographers drive their stories with the social or political themes of the day, thus avoiding *People* magazine pitfalls. The structure of most biographies, however, combines the romance novel with a boy's adventure story. In this case, we see the history of the post-World War II period through the tragic adventures of "Bob."

Perhaps this explains why so much of the book is devoted to the Vietnam story—a war can easily be described in a linear storybook manner.

John Ralston Saul is the author of Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Reason in the West *(The Free Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But while Vietnam was McNamara's most dramatic failure, it has also had far fewer long term implications than his other initiatives.

Shapley does give a reasonable account of the World Bank period, even though she tiptoes around the implications of the debt crisis. What was needed was a strong narrative drive based on the conflict between Third World realities and McNamara's abstract idea of what the Third World could become with his help. His approach was central to creating the atmosphere inside the commercial banks, as well as in the World Bank, which led to a developing world hopelessly in debt and hypnotized by the Western style of manager-driven industrial development. That idea of development indirectly encouraged social destabilization. The collapse of traditional agriculture and the swelling of urban slums came without compensating systems of food production and viable manufacturing. In other words, an idealistic and abstract program for reform has helped to create instability and suffering.

As for the statistics which seem to show an improvement in Third World standards of living, a biographer of Robert McNamara ought to know that these numbers are based upon "standards" defined by specific schools of economists and statisticians. These are essentially Western standards. Such definitions have difficulty "measuring" the standards of societies functioning outside the Western marketplace. Thus a small farmer in a barter-based village will seem to have no income and no standards, but might live reasonably well. A distraught, ill-fed, and destabilized shanty-town dweller who has entered the Western economic system can be measured as having some income. He will appear in statistics with a "standard of living."

When Shapley deals with nuclear weapons, she clarifies once and for all one of the great misunderstandings of the last three decades. The move to massive quantities of nuclear armaments began in Washington, not in Moscow. It was a Kennedy policy that successive governments accepted. Everyone chose to ignore President Eisenhower's sensible and professional advice that such a buildup was neither politically smart nor strategically necessary.

Kennedy's determination was based on the notion that the Soviets were ahead in the nuclear race—a false premise. He completely missed the frightening effect that massive nuclear armaments would have on the conservative and bureaucratic minded Communist leadership. It frightened them out of their wits

UNEQUAL JUSTICE

A Question of Color

Coramae Richey Mann

"Mann has produced an illuminating, thoroughly researched, and comprehensive treatment of the experiences of minorities in the criminal justice system. The book dispassionately provides persuasive evidence of the disparate treatment of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans in the criminal justice system. . . . *Unequal Justice* underscores the urgent need to find a way to promote justice in our legal system today."
—Mary Frances Berry, Member U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Synthesizing research on race and crime through cross-cultural analyses, this monumental study reveals that peoples of color do not receive equal treatment in the U.S. criminal justice system and that this inequality is intimately related to their skin color.
Blacks in the Diaspora

cloth $35.00 paper $14.95

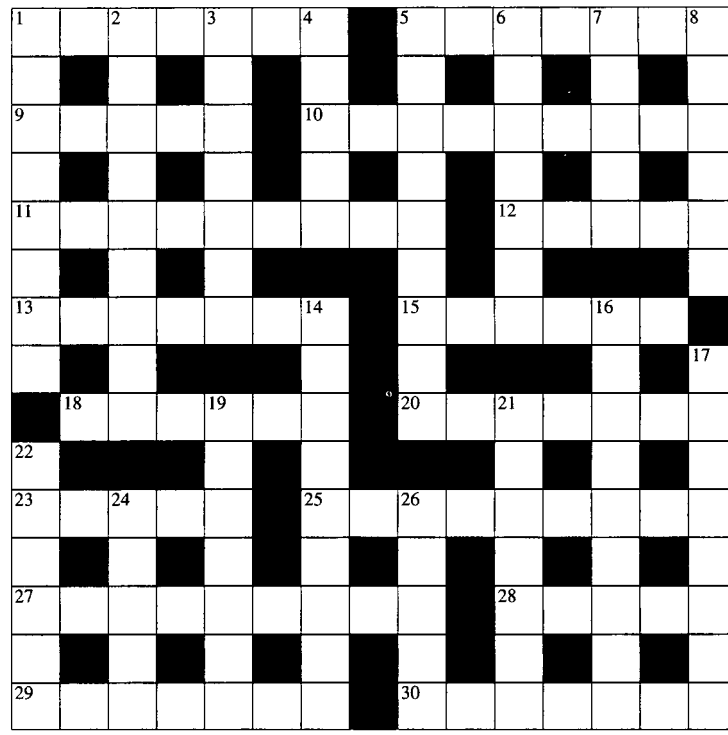
At bookstores or from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS
601 N. Morton St.
Bloomington, IN 47404
Orders: 1-800-842-6796

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICAL PUZZLE

by John Barclay

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g. (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g. USA, are treated as one word.



ACROSS

1. Mere diamonds produce fair result for . . . (7)
5. . . . pioneer Milne character going West around Connecticut. (7)
9. Average temperature is intended. (5)
10. Showed dean pixel arrangement. (9)
11. Establish position of trio eaten in pieces. (9)
12. Networks air ET indiscriminately. (5)
13. Sexier around 50 waving banners. (7)
15. 7-2 still equals 7. (6)
18. To move about a couple, we hear. (6)
20. Fix cable in Delaware disaster. (7)
23. Mash actor both ways. (5)
25. Panel's sin displayed lack of distinction. (9)
27. Another race for media medium? (9)
28. Hebrew character may be a help. (5)
29. Achiever of prominence before latter part of January . . . (7)
30. . . . taking interest in tailless clone. (7)

DOWN

1. Special occasion is a mere job-shuffling. (8)
2. Bring peace by controlling India's borders' blitzes. (9)
3. Pronounced oral difference between was and is. (7)
4. General Meade is swelling. (5)
5. Put down part of paper around its estate. (9)
6. Out-of-town president in the middle of upright piano. (2,1,4)
7. Musical group turned part of joint upside down. (5)
8. Before March 1, carefully hoard between 29 and 30. (6)
14. Set April spy around 100 in piecemeal fashion. (9)
16. Former glue around back of chair is filth. (9)
17. Indicator of quantity of lash sent abroad. (4,4)
19. Roman leader puts one suitcase before system. (7)
21. Big lane constructed for native Indian. (7)
22. Lowly female consumes last of beer for a jolt. (6)
24. Spot Peg in window electioneering. (5)
26. Greek present for muscular activity. (5)

Answers to last month's puzzle:

L	I	N	C	O	L	N	M	E	M	O	R	I	A	L
A		E		L		O		S		R		O		E
W	A	V	E	D	A	T		T	H	I	S	T	L	E
F		E		I		K		A		E		A		W
I	S	R	A	E	L	I		T	U	N	I	S	I	A
R		M				N		E		T				R
M	A	O	R	I		D	E	S	P	A	I	R	E	D
		R		N						T		E		
E	X	E	R	C	I	S	E	D		E	M	I	T	S
N				O		C		I				N		I
D	I	P	I	N	T	O		S	E	N	D	S	I	N
E		A		T		W		P		E		T		C
M	I	S	T	R	A	L		U	P	G	R	A	D	E
I		T		O		A		T		E		L		R
C	H	A	R	L	O	T	T	E	S	V	I	L	L	E

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and brought out the worst in their not very attractive and imaginative characters.

Shapley's interpretation of McNamara's Flexible Response Strategy is off the mark. She sees it as a move away from the risks of nuclear war and therefore counts it as a McNamara success. She has in effect simply accepted the standard Washington position and does not understand the basis of European opposition. It was McNamara himself who said that he liked Flexible Response precisely because it converted nuclear weapons into "useable military power." The whole point of the preceding strategy—Massive Response—was that the weapons couldn't be used. That also meant you didn't need large quantities of them.

President Eisenhower, President de Gaulle, the Germans, and indeed the Russians understood this. But McNamara and his literal minded efficiency experts simply couldn't grasp the indirect advantages. Nor did they know enough history to understand that the safest strategies are usually indirect. They were oblivious to the fact that Flexible Response was above all inflexible and resembled the Maginot Line approach more than anything else. Strategies which are essentially logical inevitably require large and often unlimited amounts of weaponry. In essence, you cannot be against the nuclear arms race and for Flexible Response, because it was Flexible Response which made the nuclear arms race uncontrollable.

Finally, there is the matter of the conventional arms market. My own feeling is that this was McNamara's greatest error. Shapley deals with it in about three pages—far less than the space taken to analyze "Bob's" relationship with his son "Craig." The idea that domestic weaponry could be financed and the overall trade flow balanced by selling weapons abroad was formalized in Washington and Paris in the period 1959-1961. This initial competition quickly drew in Britain, then everyone else. As Western economies collapsed in the seventies, a further step was taken. Arms production became the standard modern make-work project as well as an indirect way to print money without seeming to do so. Weapons became the principle inflationary consumer product of the late 20th century. This whole approach was very much the invention of the abstract management experts. McNamara and the Rand Corporation—Shapley very effectively lays out the cooperation between the two—are central to what is now the heaviest chain around the neck of Western economies and the most destabilizing element in international relations.

President Clinton is discreetly tiptoeing up to this problem. This is probably wise given that 25 percent of American GDP is arms-related. The most important sector in international trade is weaponry. The addiction of Western economies to the arms industry is far closer to being one of the causes of our economic crisis than is any government debt. Debt, after all, is merely an effect. If Clinton pulls the plug on the arms industry, he will provoke a full scale economic collapse. In that sense, his research and development conversion program is an intelligent small step. But it is only that.

Whatever its flaws, Shapley's book should be read. She has laid out in great detail the greatest example yet seen of the managerial mind in power. It would be a mistake to treat Robert McNamara as an historical accident or a peculiar phenomenon which has been left behind. If he and his disciples have gone from job to better job and failure to failure, it is because the contemporary principles of rational management remain unquestioned in the power structures of government and industry. We have only to look around ourselves: the airline industry's collapse, the disorder in international money markets, the self-defeating aggressivity of trade policy.

McNamara's mentality and approach is far more central to how power is used today than it was when he introduced it. The key to rational management is that its structural success is unrelated to its policy failures. That paradox is difficult for sensible people to accept. But it is the demonstrable story of how contemporary power works. □

NEW IN PAPERBACK

THE VITAL SOUTH

How Presidents Are Elected

EARL BLACK AND MERLE BLACK

"*The Vital South* provides rich documentation of the deep roots the GOP has established in the South...For strategists in both parties and for interested observers on the sidelines, it is **essential reading.**"
—Jonathan Yardley, *Washington Post Book World*

"A **fascinating** and fundamental exposition of the pot of gold at the end of the Southern rainbow and how it got there...The longer historic record of Southern cohesion is awesome and the Blacks tell the story well."
—Martin F. Nolan, *Boston Globe*

26 line illus., 19 maps $14.95

Available at bookstores or from

Harvard University Press

Cambridge, MA 02138 Call tollfree: 1-800-448-2242

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo Negatives

There's a simple reason why TV and campaigns are obsessed with soundbites and photo-ops: People love them

by Bob Schieffer

Picture Perfect: The Art and Artifice of Public Image Making
Kiku Adatto. *Basic Books,* $20

Andre Agassi, the young tennis pro who wears hideous day-glo colors and plays with his shirttail out, has been starring recently in a television commercial for Canon cameras in which—nicely cleaned up and hair combed—he declares that in today's world, "Image is everything."

Now comes Kiku Adatto, who is not your average day-glo, shirttail-out kind of person, to declare that Agassi is probably right. And, more important, Americans and their politics are the worse for it.

Adatto's name won't ring any bells with American politicians or voters—she has been a lecturer at Harvard and studies American culture—but around television newsrooms she is known as the "Sound Bite Lady." It was Adatto who set network news on its collective ear when she sat down with a stopwatch and timed just how long presidential candidates were allowed to speak on evening news broadcasts during the 1988 campaign.

Her findings startled political scientists and other assorted observers, delighted a lot of television's print competitors, and, frankly, embarrassed many of us who were responsible for that year's campaign coverage. Adatto discovered that the average sound bite for candidates in 1988 was only 9.8 seconds, compared to an average of 42 seconds in 1968. At no time during the entire Bush-Dukakis campaign, which came when the Cold War was ending, when America had been plunged into record debt, and when our cities were overrun with crime and poverty, did a candidate for president speak uninterrupted for as long as a minute in any story broadcast on any network evening news program. Television reporters and producers had become so obsessed with pretty pictures from the campaign trail, Adatto observed, that they had little time left to report on what the campaign was about or even what the candidates were saying. In *Picture Perfect*, she goes beyond her original study and shows how television's obsession with pictures is part of a much larger problem—modern American culture's fascination with visual images, real and manufactured.

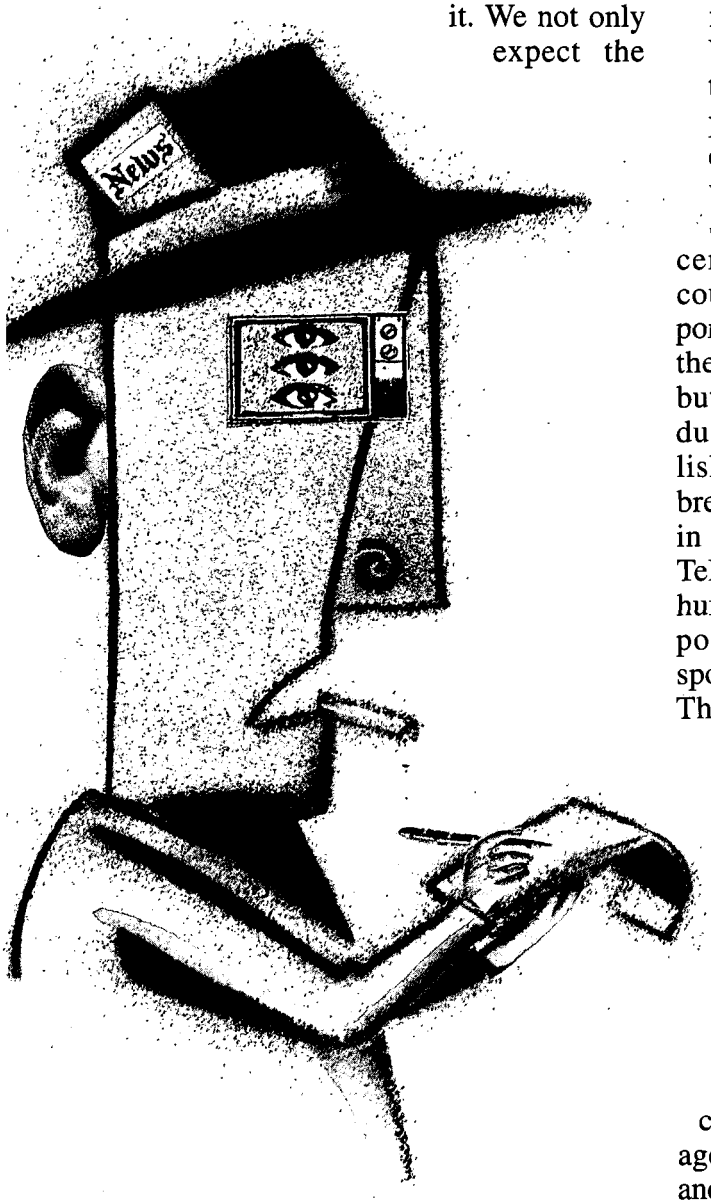
Adatto's new work is sometimes a frightening reminder of how easily we can be influenced by the images generated by advertising, still photography, and the movies; but, to me, her most pertinent observations are still about television campaign coverage.

Armed with her original findings and buttressed with scores of interviews with

Bob Schieffer is CBS News' chief Washington correspondent and has covered every presidential campaign since 1972.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reporters, consultants, and strategists, Adatto concludes that viewers have become so accustomed to picture-driven campaign coverage that even when they know that the "reality" on the screen has been staged, they can still be seduced by the powerful images and diverted from the real issues of the campaign. More disturbingly, perhaps, she says we have become so conditioned to "photo opportunities" and the other hucksterism of modern campaigning that we have developed a certain fondness for it. We not only expect the hucksters to fool us; we want them to do it right:



> When [photography] was first invented in the nineteenth century, people were fascinated by the realism of the camera even as they acknowledged the artifice of the pose. In contemporary American culture our sensibility has shifted. Now we are alive as never before to the artifice of images. We pride ourselves on our knowledge that the camera can lie, that pictures can be fabricated, packaged, and manipulated. We have even developed an appreciation for artifice, an appreciation of slick production values whether in political campaigns, beer commercials, or a favorite movie.

She cites a political cartoon from the recent campaign season which shows two country boys talking politics on the front porch of a run-down general store. One tells the other, "I like Buchanan's sound bites, but Clinton and Tsongas have slicker production values." When Adatto first published her preliminary findings about the brevity of sound bites in *The New Republic* in 1990, the article touched off an uproar. Television reporters and their bosses at first huffed and puffed that the study missed the point—that it wasn't how long someone spoke but what was said that was important. Their favorite example was the phrase "I love you" which, it was pointed out, takes less than three seconds to say and requires no elaboration.

Happily, by the time Campaign '92 rolled around, news people were having second thoughts, and even the most ardent defenders of network news coverage were conceding that whatever else was right or wrong about television's political coverage, stories in which sound bites averaged less than ten seconds were a disgrace and ought to be corrected. In fact, the author quotes me to that effect in this book, and we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should pause here for a Truth in Packaging Announcement: Readers of this review should be aware that I generally agreed with Adatto's earlier conclusions, encouraged her as she was writing this book, and she has been kind enough to quote me in several passages. Reviewing it did present a multitude of temptations ("The author really drives home her point when she quotes me as saying . . . etc.") which I have tried to resist, but nonetheless, this review should be judged accordingly.

Asserting that professional image makers and spin doctors have become a powerful force in American politics is nothing new. But Adatto is alerting journalists and voters alike to just how powerful the image makers have become, how easily we can be seduced by their work, and how the emphasis of picture over substance has contributed to the deterioration of American political discourse.

Adatto began her study by looking at coverage of campaigns 20 years apart—those of 1968 and 1988. In fact, I hosted a meeting of a few reporters and producers in my home to watch a sampling of the campaign tapes Adatto had been reviewing. The reactions broke along generational lines. Young journalists always find it hard to imagine how their work can be improved upon, and the youngest in our crowd bristled at nearly every criticism of the 1988 campaign coverage.

The older crowd (meaning me), having reached that point in life where one understands that most daily journalism is neither as wonderful nor as important as it seemed at the time, found the 1968 stories breathtakingly better. It wasn't just the use of longer sound bites in the '68 campaign. The stories themselves were longer, which made more room for stronger narratives that drove home a point. The '88 stories were slick, all right, but looked and sounded like, well, television commercials. Unlike commercials, however, it was sometimes difficult to remember what the stories were about.

Camera sly

Reading Adatto's new study has helped me to understand that the 1980 campaign probably transformed television campaign coverage most dramatically. In retrospect, I suppose Ronald Reagan had more to do with it than we realized. But the blame is not Reagan's. The fault, dear Brutus, is ours. It started with television news' built-in love for pictures and was compounded by a general misunderstanding of how television's rapidly changing technology should have been used.

By the 1980 campaign, film cameras and the complicated developing and editing processes that film required had been phased out. Video technology had reached the point where stories could be edited quickly and where producers could carry vast videotape libraries with them on the campaign planes. Graphics technology had become even more sophisticated: If you needed a picture to illustrate something you were writing about, chances are a producer had one close by in a carry-on bag. If you didn't have a photo, a chart could be generated with the new graphics technology. Because we could illustrate every word of every story, we got the wrong idea that every word ought to be illustrated. The illustration mania reached such levels of silliness that the late CBS correspondent Hughes Rudd said, "If you wrote a script with a phrase 'that's water under the bridge,' someone would try to stick a picture of a bridge with water running under it in your story."

As often happens with new technology, there was a tendency to use it for the sake of using it. Pictures and graphics, what the producers call elements, were jammed into stories just because it was possible to jam them in, not because they served any editorial purpose. Into this situation stepped actor-cum-political candidate Ronald Reagan and media manipulator extraordinaire Michael Deaver, proud to be called the "Vicar of Visuals."

The Nixon White House had first substituted the phrase "photo opportunity" for news conference, but Deaver refined the act of presidential presentation to an art form, sometimes giving more attention to backdrop and setting than to what the president actually said. Whatever reporters thought of Reagan, the networks loved the visuals—the dramatic pictures that Deaver served up daily made it easy to tell the Reagan story on television. Television people began to talk about how stories looked, not what they said. (Some of the new people didn't even call them stories, preferring instead to call them "packages.")

Unfortunately, too little thought was given to what the "packages" were about, or even if they had a point. Adatto's theory is that as powerful as they were, stories so heavy on picture and so light on content eventually left both viewer and reporter wanting. After all, as pretty as a sunset may be, we finally tire of it and want the sun to set. "If one side of us appreciates, even celebrates the image," she writes, "another side yearns for something more authentic."

Thus she said that, as campaigns mastered the art of television image making, it was only a matter of time until reporters found it necessary to take step two: shift from recording the images to exposing them and revealing the contrivances.

This, she argues, created a dilemma for the television journalist. Television's desire for "entertaining stories" compelled reporters and producers to seek the best possible picture even if this made them accomplices to the artifice. But, at the same time, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

traditional documentary ambition of television journalism compelled reporters to puncture the picture, to expose the image as an image.

By 1988, television reporters were well into step two—exposing the images and, in Adatto's view, wasting too much time investigating the stagecraft of the campaign—again overlooking the story behind the pictures. After being carried away by the touchy feely scenes produced at the Reagan White House, reporters were determined to expose the fakery of Campaign '88. In spending so much time explaining how the images were manufactured, they failed to investigate what the candidates were actually saying.

Adatto's lesson for the television reporters is fairly simple: Do not underestimate the power of imagery—real or otherwise, but ignore it when it cannot be backed by content. Even when you are pointing out that an image is false, you are unwittingly circulating pictures that may be powerful enough to override whatever you are saying about them. But we need to understand as well that to stage an event for television does not necessarily falsify content, nor is broadcasting an event staged for television a sin in itself. When Barbara Bush held an AIDS baby for the cameras, for instance, she was transmitting a powerful and legitimate message that deserved circulation.

Adatto points out that before some Vietnamese monks burned themselves to death in 1963 to protest their government's policy, they sent out press releases notifying the American networks of what they intended to do. She also recalls that the leaders of the American civil rights movement timed their demonstrations so that they would be seen on television.

Communicating through television images, Adatto argues, is part of modern discourse. The distinction between real and pseudo events must be judged not on the method of presentation but on the content of the event itself. It is not enough, she says, to point out that an event has been staged for television. Where television's political reporting has gone wrong is in failing to examine the candidates' ideas and assessing the substance of what they are trying to illustrate with their manufactured images.

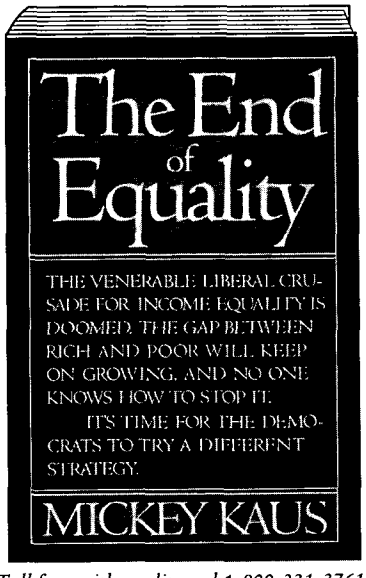
This book offers some fresh insights on how to go about correcting that. I hope a lot of television reporters will read it. □

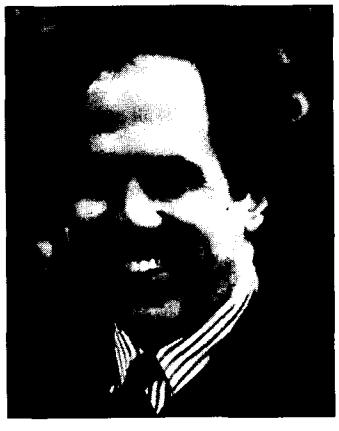
Winner of the 1992 *Washington Monthly* Political Book Award

"Provocative...bold...moving.... A valuable contribution to the continuing debate on race and class in America."
—J. ANTHONY LUKAS, *front page,* **New York Times Book Review**

"An original and powerful book, capable of permanently altering the terms of American political debate."
—Chicago Tribune

"A lively, original, intellectually provocative argument."
—The New Yorker





A New Republic Book
BasicBooks
A Division of HarperCollins*Publishers*

Toll free with credit card 1-800-331-3761

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICAL BOOKNOTES

The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making.
John P. Heinz, Edward O. Laumann, Robert L. Nelson, and Robert H. Salisbury.
Harvard University Press, $39.95

By Jeffrey H. Birnbaum

Just over two years ago, a large group of top government officials sequestered themselves in a converted bar at the Officers Club of Andrews Air Force Base. Their purpose was to negotiate in complete secrecy the sensitive details of what would later become the 1990 deficit reduction act.

But one enterprising lobbyist was able to break their isolation. Frederick Graefe, a partner in the law firm of Baker & Hostetler, was a former marine who still had friends in the military. One of them was an officer at Andrews, who, at Graefe's request, told the guards at the main gate to allow Graefe onto the base whenever he wanted—ostensibly to play golf. What the lobbyist did instead was wait in the Officers Club parking lot for his friends on lawmakers' staffs to come out and brief him on the talks. Just in case he was caught, Graefe always kept his golf clubs with him.

As this story illustrates, lobbying knows no bounds in the nation's capital. It also operates almost completely without regulation. Indeed, professional lobbying is one of the last rogue industries in America. With revenues in the billions of dollars and participants numbering in the hundreds of thousands, lobbying is a big business getting bigger all the time. But thanks to official inattention, the four separate lobbying registration laws on the books are toothless and ineffective. Lobbyists like Graefe ply their trade free of serious scrutiny by either government or the public at large.

Now comes another book that tries to pull back the veil on lobbying. *The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making*, is a serious, academic examination of how lobbyists operate in Washington. It isn't the kind of book that anyone other than a graduate student in political science would ever want to cuddle up with in front of a fireplace. And its main message isn't very sexy: Lobbyists struggle to get their way in a highly uncertain and ever-changing policy environment. But, perhaps inadvertently, the book also helps shed some light on the important and, until recently, almost completely furtive business of influence peddling.

Buried in over 400 pages of thick analysis, *The Hollow Core* contains data compiled over several years that quantifies how pervasive and sophisticated modern-day lobbying has become. In effect, the book concludes that lobbyists these days are much different than their caricature. They aren't fat, cigar-smoking men who shove $100 bills into the pockets of compliant legislators. They are economists, advertising executives, telemarketing specialists, and even accountants.

One chart helps tell the tale. From a sample of 316 lobbying organizations, the authors detail precisely how often the groups prepare testimony and draft legislation and regulations. It also shows lobbyists doing more typical things, such as contacting congressional committees and executive branch agencies. "As you can see," the authors admit, "we are inclined to want to count things."

Many Americans should want to keep a better count of what lobbyists do as well, and *The Hollow Core* is in an odd way a lengthy argument for changing the nation's laws to help make that possible. The authors downplay the notion that lobbyists are decisive in policy battles. Hence the title. The authors see lobbyists more as circling around policy choices rather than being central to their development.

But a reader cannot help concluding that the line between those inside and those outside of government isn't clearly drawn. The circle that lobbyists form around this hollow core is extremely adaptive and useful to the people who make and implement the nation's laws. Even if they don't always win, lobbyists are obviously a permanent and influential force that has to be reckoned with in Washington.

This seemingly simple conclusion took the four top-flight academics who authored this book many years to document and convey. It shouldn't take that long. And President Clinton, for one, wants to foreshorten that process. He is pressing this year to enact the first truly thorough lobbying disclosure law so that others can learn quickly and with relative ease how lobbying works. And his sentiment—if not his specific proposal—contains a lot to be commended. Finding out the many things about lobbyists that now go undisclosed would enormously enhance our understanding of government. An effective lobbying law might have revealed, for example, that lobbyists representing such corporate giants as IBM and Hewlett-Packard, including former Carter administration adviser Stuart Eizenstat, sat together with senior congressional aides and essentially wrote the version of the tax credit for research-and-development expenditures that passed the House of Representatives in 1989. A tougher lobbying law might also have dis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closed that a group of former congressional staffers-turned-professional-lobbyists have for years bankrolled an annual skiing trip to Vail, Colorado, to woo their successors on Capitol Hill.

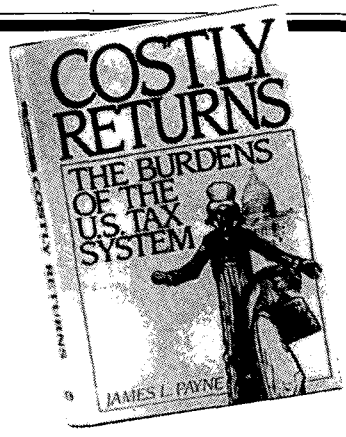
No one can be sure what effect such extra information about lobbying might have on policy making. But surely there would be some. For instance, the forces that wanted to cut the tax on capital gains a few years ago, led by lobbyists Charls Walker and Mark Bloomfield, probably would have been damaged had it been known than that they spent $50 to arrange each of 708 telephone calls from big campaign contributors to key members of the House Ways and Means Committee. And efforts by mutual life insurance companies to block a tax increase would have been set back were it public earlier that one of their lobbyists, Clifford Gibbons, had lobbied his own father, Rep. Sam Gibbons of Florida, the second ranking Democrat on Ways and Means, on their behalf.

Current lobbying laws are supposed to compel lobbyists to report these sorts of activities. But the laws don't work. Instead, they serve to conceal more about lobbying than they reveal, and at the same time bury lobbyists under a blizzard of paperwork. This is true for all sorts of lobbyists, not just the corporate kind who are most often fingered as the "bad guys." Consumer advocate Ralph Nader and his minions can—and do—camouflage their sources of financing with the same impunity as any of the most insidious business or labor lobbying groups.

In recent years, lobbying registrations have ranged from silly—one lobbying firm disclosed quarterly payments of $1.31 to one of its employees—to outrageous—in 1989, 10 big lobbying firms with authoritatively estimated revenues of more than $60 million disclosed less than $2 million of lobbying receipts. There are also plenty of things to learn beyond mere dollars and cents. It would have been useful to know, for example, that the author of the tax bill that passed the House in 1989 was not only Democratic Rep. Ed Jenkins of Georgia—as was widely reported at the time—but that he was assisted almost daily by his former tax aide and then real-estate lobbyist, James Rock.

Lobbyists know they can flout the current system of disclosure because enforcement of the diffuse lobbying laws is all but nonexistent. As a result, nearly 10,000 of the 13,500 individuals and organizations who list themselves as lobbyists in a book called *Washington Representatives* don't even bother to register under the Federal Lobbying Registration Act. And of those who did in 1989, 62 percent of their filings were late and 90 percent were incomplete, according to a survey by the nonpartisan General Accounting Office.

The only reason many lobbyists register at all is to prove to potential clients that they are "legitimate." For a professional lobbyist, being able to say that he or she is registered with the U.S. Congress carries some panache and is tantamount to hanging out a shingle to do business in Washington. But even with this allure, only a fraction of lobbyists ever register. American University's James Thurber estimates that at least 80,000 people are directly involved in lobbying in Washington. In addition, many thousands of others around the nation routinely participate in the grassroots kind of lobbying that involves telephone calls and letter-writing to government officials.



Cloth, $34.95/Paper, $14.95

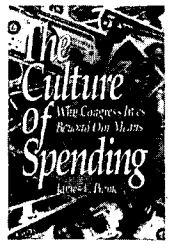
Every dollar we pay the IRS actually costs us $1.65!

In *Costly Returns*, James L. Payne explains why – and what we can do to achieve true tax reform.

ALSO AVAILABLE

The Culture of Spending:
Why Congress Lives Beyond Our Means
by James L. Payne

FINALIST
1992 Mencken Prize, awarded by the Free Press Association.



Cloth, $24.95

IN BETTER BOOKSTORES, OR CALL TOLL-FREE 1-800-326-0263

ICS Distributed to the trade by National Book Network
ICS PRESS • 243 Kearny Street • San Francisco, CA 94108

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After years of talk and no action about these shortcomings, 1993 might finally be the time when a new lobbying law is written. Disdain for lobbyists and their special power in Washington is key to President Clinton's critique of government. He routinely bashes lobbyists as a way of promoting his hard-hitting economic package. While exaggerated, such assaults do have a ring of truth. "The real problem," Clinton has said, "is the government only works for the very wealthy and the special interests. It doesn't work for anybody else."

Almost no one believes that lobbyists shouldn't be regulated better, including the lobbyists themselves. There is a remarkable consensus among people both inside and outside of government that lobbyists should be required to disclose precisely what they are lobbying for, the source and amount of their lobbying fees, and the names of the government officials they contact, either directly or indirectly.

Regulations such as these wouldn't reduce or limit lobbying. And that is the only way it can be: The right to petition government for redress of grievances is guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. But that leaves lots of room for reform.

Of course, it is also true that some of Clinton's closest advisers have been lobbyists—including three members of his own cabinet. In addition, nothing that Clinton or anyone else will do is likely to diminish the influence of lobbyists. Indeed, Clinton's anti-lobbyist rhetoric has led to a boom in Washington lobbying. Interest groups are hiring every lobbyist they can find to protect themselves against the Clinton onslaught.

But an overhaul of lobbying regulation is a big part of the administration's drive to make government more accessible to the American people, and a proposal developed in recent years by Senators Carl Levin of Michigan and William Cohen of Maine is gaining prominence as part of that effort. To help the lobbyists, the legislation would ease the paperwork burden and create a single federal office to enforce the new law. To help the public, the legislation would require anyone who is paid to lobby the government—either directly or indirectly—to register.

When they register, lobbyists would have to disclose the names of their clients, the specific issues they lobbied, the overall amount they spent on lobbying, and the federal agencies and congressional committees they contacted. The registration would also disclose any governmental job the lobbyist had held in the previous two years. Failure to make complete disclosure would leave them subject to stiff civil penalties.

The Levin-Cohen proposal in general has been embraced not just by lobbying foes but also by lobbyists, giving it a strong chance of passing this year. Even the likes of Thomas Hale (Tommy) Boggs Jr., one of Washington's premier corporate lobbyists, has testified on Capitol Hill that lobbying regulations are in desperate need of updating and has praised the modest proposal of Senators Levin and Cohen as a good start.

No matter what the details, few would disagree with Howard Marlowe, a former president of the American League of Lobbyists, the industry's major professional organization: "Lobbying ought to be regulated—it ought to be regulated more effectively—if for no other reason than to help to increase public confidence in and understanding of our representative form of government. People have a right to know who is trying to influence what in the policy-making process and how much they are being paid.

"And obviously," Marlowe adds, "the current law is woefully inadequate in accomplishing that objective." And if the law is finally fixed, more than the few intellectuals who wrote *The Hollow Core* will be able to keep an accurate count of Washington's burgeoning influence industry.

Jeffrey H. Birnbaum covers the White House for The Wall Street Journal *and is the author of* The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington.

PENGUIN • THE BEST IN PAPERBACKS

"It's still the economy..."

Here are scores of innovative ideas and bold plans on everything from health insurance to public schools, the deficit to banking reform. They can work —they have worked in many communities and foreign countries—and you can help implement them.

"All serious readers interested in economic policy should give this book their careful attention."
—*Library Journal*

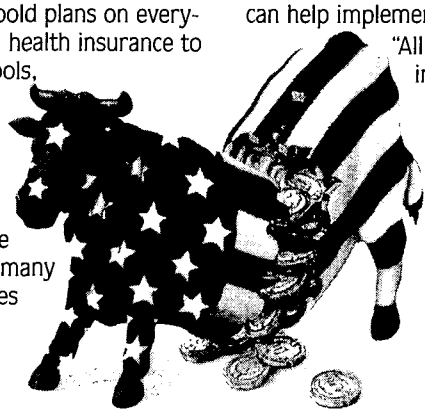


Illustration: Doug Henry

KILLING THE SACRED COWS

BOLD IDEAS FOR A NEW ECONOMY

ANN CRITTENDEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Books *from* M.E. Sharpe

Bestseller—

AMERICA'S AGENDA

Rebuilding Economic Strength

The Cuomo Commission on Competitiveness
Lewis B. Kaden, Chairman, and Lee Smith, Director of the Commission and Editor

Introduction by Mario M. Cuomo, Governor of New York State

"The Cuomo Commission's recognition of what was wrong with the 1980s and what needs to be done for the 1990s provides an important framework for ... national economic strategy." —Kevin Phillips, Author and Political Commentator

"The question before all Americans ... is what we should do? and where we should go? *America's Agenda* is the most imaginative, hopeful, and convincing answer to that question I've yet seen." —Robert Heilbroner, New School for Social Research

1-56324-086-6 Hardcover $37.50 / 1-56324-094-7 Paperback $18.95

From the Economic Policy Institute Series
a revised & expanded edition of a bestseller—

THE STATE OF WORKING AMERICA: *1992–93*

Lawrence Mishel and **Jared Bernstein**

This widely acclaimed book provides a comprehensive portrait of how the U.S. standard of living has changed during the last ten years.

"It should be required reading for Americans of all political persuasions as they look to the future of the country." —Richard Freeman, Harvard University

1-56324-211-7 Hardcover $45.00 / 1-56324-212-5 Paperback $19.95

TRACKING AMERICA'S ECONOMY

Second Edition

Norman Frumkin

On the first edition: "Excellent guide to U.S. economic statistics ... One of the more practical and useful contemporary reference books in economics." —*Cooperative Economic News Service*

1-56324002-5 Hardcover $39.90 / 1-56324-003-3 Paperback $18.95

HEALTH POLICY REFORM IN AMERICA

Innovations from the States

Edited by **Howard M. Leichter**

In the 1990s the states will provide leadership in dealing with the major problems facing the U.S. health delivery system—the dramatic increases in costs, questions of access to health care, the AIDS crisis, prenatal and child care, and failures in the quality of health services.

"...an outstanding collection on a very important topic. These essays go far beyond the usual fare ..." —James A. Morone, Editor, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*

1-56324-053-X Hardcover $42.50 / 1-56324-054-8 Paperback $16.50

ON HER OWN

Journalistic Adventures from San Francisco to the Chinese Revolution, 1917–1927

Milly Bennett

Edited and Annotated by **A. Tom Grunfeld**

"An absorbing, vivid, true story of a remarkable young American woman unexpectedly cast in a dangerous role in the dramatic early stages of China's great revolution. For the historian, a treasure; for everyone, a wonderful read." —John S. Service, University of California, Berkeley

1-56324-523-0 Hardcover $39.95 / 1-56324-182-X Paperback $15.95

THE SOVIET COLOSSUS

The Rise and Fall of the USSR

Third Edition

Michael Kort

On the first edition: "Kort's popular history of Russia in the twentieth century supplies a solid background for understanding the events that produced a revolutionary reorganization of government and power ... A balanced consideration of Russia's failures and achievements." —*Booklist*

1-56324-675-X Hardcover $49.95 / 1-56324-676-8 Paperback $19.95

THE QUEST FOR SECURITY IN THE CARIBBEAN

Problems and Promises in Subordinate States

Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith

In this first comprehensive work on security in the English-speaking Caribbean, the author examines security problems and identifies safeguards countries in the region may take in the coming decade.

1-56324-089-0 Hardcover $42.50

HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Foundations for Responsible Hope

Edited by **Peter Juviler** and **Bertram Gross**, with **Vladimir Kartashkin** and **Elena Lukasheva.** Foreword by Stanley Katz

"This book is at once living history and an attempt to get outside it, to look back in order to see farther ahead. ... we look to the year 2000 as the possible dawn of a 'human rights era.' We envision a 21st century whose first years might become historic turning points in humankind's halting progress toward genuine civilization." —*from the Introduction*

1-56324-044-0 Hardcover $59.95 / 1-56324-110-2 Paperback $19.95

LIVING WITHOUT A CONSTITUTION: *Civil Rights in Israel*

Daphna Sharfman

"Interesting, well-researched, and well written. ... it could fill a significant lacuna in the documentation of Israeli public issues." —Ehud Sprinzak, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

1-56324-145-5 Hardcover $24.90

To order call 800-541-6563 or fax 914-273-2106

American Express, Mastercard, and VISA • Free catalogue available on request

80 Business Park Drive/ Armonk, New York 10504

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Gnat Is Older than Man

Global Environment and Human Agenda

Christopher D. Stone

Moving beyond the opposition of "greens" and "realists" in the debate over the global environment, Christopher Stone presents a clear overview of the perils facing the human race and takes a tough-minded look at a number of doubtful propositions that have become enshrined as conventional wisdom. This provocative book will raise the environmental debate to a new level.

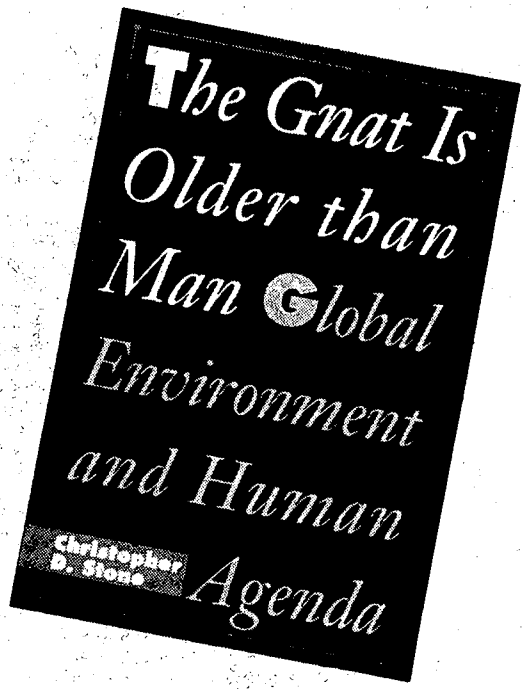
"Christopher Stone has the rare ability to blend idealism and realism. Like such classics as *Silent Spring* and *A Sand County Almanac*, his book has the power to revolutionize the way we think about protecting the global environment."

—Durwood Zaelke, President, Center for International Environmental Law

". . . should be read by everyone concerned with the future of our planet."

—John H. Chaffee, U.S. Senator (Rhode Island)

Cloth: $21.95 ISBN 0-691-03250-5 *Due April 1993*



The Elusive Transformation

Science, Technology, and the Evolution of International Politics

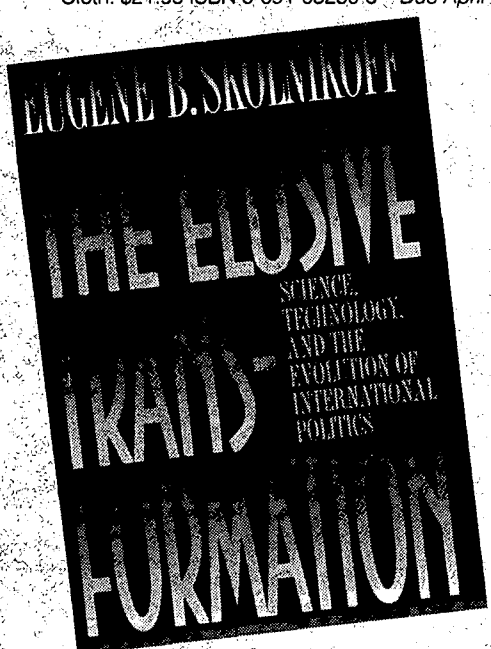
Eugene B. Skolnikoff

From the global reach of television to the danger of global warming, advances in science and technology have become the most powerful forces leading to societal change. This is the first comprehensive attempt to show how changes in science and technology affect the world political system—and are affected by it.

"This book is a *tour de force*, a formidable piece of work that represents not only the results of extensive research but also the accumulated experience and wisdom of probably the country's best observer and analyst of the intersection between science and technology and international politics."

—Ted Greenwood, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

Cloth: $39.50 ISBN 0-691-08631-1 *Due April 1993*



Princeton University Press

41 WILLIAM ST., PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • ORDERS: 800-777-4726 • OR FROM YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED